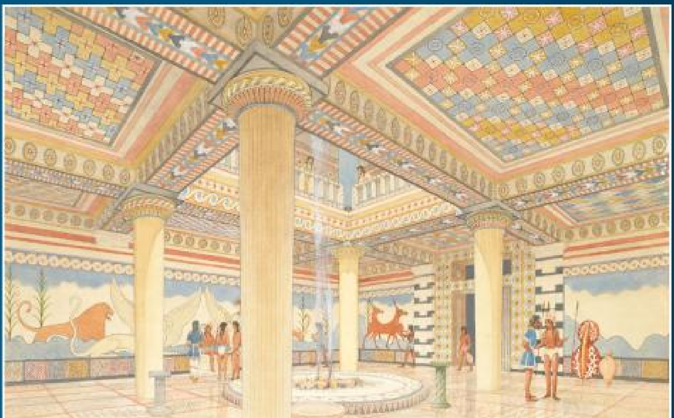
# *Individuals and Society in Mycenaean Pylos*



MNEMOSYNE SUPPLEMENTS HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

DIMITRI NAKASSIS

BRILL

Individuals and Society in Mycenaean Pylos

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# Individuals and Society in Mycenaean Pylos

*By*

Dimitri Nakassis

BRILL

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

For my parents

CONTENTS


List of Figures ........ ix
List of Tables ........ xi
Acknowledgments ........ xiii
A Note on Mycenaean Names ........ xv
Glossary and Abbreviations ........ xvii

1 Paupers and Peasants and Princes and Kings ........ 1
1.1 Putting Mycenaeans in Their Place ........ 5
1.2 From Roles to Individuals ........ 19
1.3 Rethinking Mycenaean Society: A Road Map ........ 23

2 From Proper Names to People Proper ........ 29
2.1 The Nature of the Pylian Documentation ........ 30
2.2 Naming the Pylians ........ 33
2.3 Previous Approaches ........ 40
2.4 Identifying the Pylians ........ 48
2.5 Discussion and Conclusions ........ 68

3 Smiths and Herders ........ 73
3.1 The Smiths of Pylos ........ 74
3.1.1 Recurring Names in the Jn Series ........ 74
3.1.2 Smiths in the Cn Series ........ 80
3.1.3 Smiths and the *o-ka* Set ........ 89
3.1.4 Smiths and the *ke-ro-si-ja* ........ 92
3.1.5 Smiths and An 340 ........ 93
3.1.6 Smiths and An 5 ........ 94
3.1.7 Smiths and An 1281 ........ 95
3.1.8 Smiths and An 172 ........ 98
3.1.9 Smiths and Alum ........ 99
3.1.10 Smiths and the E- Series ........ 100
3.2 The Herders of Pylos ........ 102
3.2.1 Herders of Multiple Flocks ........ 103
3.2.2 Herding in Other Series ........ 105
3.2.3 Herders and the An Series ........ 107
3.2.4 Herders and the M- and N- Series ........ 109

3.2.5 Herders and the Sa Series ..... 110
3.2.6 Herders and the E- Series ..... 111
3.2.7 Herders and the Fn Series ..... 114
3.3 Conclusions ..... 114

4 Soldiers and Landowners ..... 117
4.1 The *o-ka* Texts ..... 117
4.2 The Landholders of Pylos ..... 124
4.2.1 Landholders at *pa-ki-ja-ne* That Appear Elsewhere ..... 130
4.2.2 Landholders in the Ea Series ..... 132
4.2.3 Landholders in the Es Series ..... 134
4.3 Individuals in the Fn Series ..... 135
4.4 Individuals in the Qa Series ..... 139
4.5 Individuals in the Mb and Mn Series ..... 140
4.6 Individuals in the Na and Nn Series ..... 142
4.7 Individuals in the Vn Series ..... 143
4.8 Individuals in the Ua, Ub, and Un Series ..... 146
4.9 Conclusions ..... 148

5 From Social Structure to Social Activity ..... 153
5.1 Individuals from Names ..... 153
5.2 The People of Pylos ..... 156
5.3 Ranking the Pylians ..... 162
5.4 Defining the Mycenaean Elite ..... 165
5.5 Individuals and the State ..... 173
5.6 Theorizing the Individual ..... 176
5.7 Individuals in History ..... 179
5.8 Rethinking Pylian Society ..... 183

Appendix: A Prosopography of Mycenaean Pylos ..... 187

Works Cited ..... 415
Index of Subjects ..... 443
Index of Sources ..... 447

LIST OF FIGURES


1.1 The traditional model of Mycenaean society, significantly modified from Kilian 1988, p. 293, fig. 1. Drawing D. Nakassis ... 6

1.2 The provinces of Pylos. Drawing D. Nakassis ... 10

1.3 Mt. Aigaleon, seen from Ano Englianos. Photo D. Nakassis ... 11

2.1 Cycles of Mycenaean administration, redrawn after Bennet 2001, p. 30, fig. 1. Drawing D. Nakassis ... 31

2.2 PY An 192. H. 20.5, W. 11.3, Th. 2.1 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati ... 38

2.3 PY An 519. H. 19.0, W. 9.1, Th. 1.5 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati ... 51

2.4 PY Aq 218 *recto*. H. 21.5, W. 13.2, Th. 1.5 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati ... 52

2.5 PY Jn 750. H. 11.2, W. 9.7, Th. 1.4 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati ... 55

2.6 PY Cn 925. H. 4.2, W. 13.6, Th. 1.3 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati ... 57

2.7 Known locations of the activities of *Komāwens* (*ko-ma-we*); locations are approximate. Drawing D. Nakassis ... 60

2.8 PY Ep 301. H. 17.0, W. 14.8, Th. 1.3 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati ... 61

2.9 PY Ua 158. H. 4.6, W. 12.0, Th. 2.0 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati ..... 63
2.10 PY Vn 130. H. 15.9, W. 8.6, Th. 2.0 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati ..... 65

3.1 PY Cn 131. H. 19.9, W. 11.4, Th. 2.1 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati ..... 85
3.2 PY Cc 660. H. 2.5, W. 12.5, Th. 1.4–1.0 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati ..... 106

5.1 Known locations of the activities of *Awekseus* and *Plouteus*; locations are approximate. Drawing D. Nakassis ..... 159
5.2 Distribution of names by frequency. Drawing D. Nakassis ..... 162

App. 1 The prosopography of *du-ni-jo*. Drawing D. Nakassis ..... 239

LIST OF TABLES


2.1 Quantitative data on Linear B tablets and signs .................. 32
2.2 Numbers of Pylian names, by preservation and certainty of identification as names .................. 34
2.3 Name popularity and frequency at Pylos .................. 45
2.4 Name frequency and popularity at Pylos .................. 45
2.5 A cluster of toponyms and personal names at Pylos .................. 47
2.6 A network analysis of names from An 657 .................. 48
2.7 Names of landholders on Ep 301 .................. 62
2.8 Recurring names on Vn 130 .................. 67

3.1 Names that appear in more than one Jn text .................. 76
3.2 Potential smiths from Jn 431 in the Cn series by tablet .................. 82
3.3 Cn 285 and the Jn series .................. 82
3.4 Cn 600 and the Jn series .................. 83
3.5 Cn 40 and the Jn series .................. 84
3.6 Smiths and herders .................. 88
3.7 Smiths' names in the *o-ka* texts .................. 92
3.8 Smiths and An 340 .................. 94
3.9 Potential smiths on An 1281 .................. 96
3.10 Smiths and landholders .................. 102
3.11 Individuals who appear more than once in the Cn series, with toponyms indicated .................. 104
3.12 Herders in the An series .................. 109
3.13 Herders in the E- series .................. 113
3.14 Herders in the Fn series .................. 114

4.1 Individuals in the *o-ka* set and the Aq diptych .................. 118
4.2 Patronymics in the *o-ka* set and the Aq diptych .................. 119
4.3 An 192, On 300, Jo 438, Aq 64, Aq 218, and the *o-ka* texts .................. 121
4.4 Individuals in the *o-ka* set who recur elsewhere .................. 123
4.5 Personal names in the E- series .................. 126
4.6 Individuals in more than one landholding series .................. 129
4.7 Landholders at *pa-ki-ja-ne* who appear elsewhere .................. 131
4.8 Landholders in the Ea series who appear elsewhere .................. 134
4.9 Landholders in the Es series who appear elsewhere .................. 135

4.10 Official titles in An 39 and the Fn series .......................... 137
4.11 Prosopographical connections between An 39 and the Fn series 137
4.12 Individuals in the Fn series who appear in multiple texts ........ 138
4.13 Individuals in the Qa series........................................ 140
4.14 Individuals in the Mb and Mn series ............................. 142
4.15 Individuals in the Na or Nn texts who appear elsewhere ......... 143
4.16 Individuals in the Vn series who appear elsewhere............... 145
4.17 Individuals in the Ua, Ub, or Un series who appear elsewhere ... 147
4.18 The Pylian *hek$^{w}$etai*................................................ 149

5.1 Numbers of names for which plausible prosopographical matches can be made ............................................. 154
5.2 Named individuals who appear on five or more texts at Pylos.... 163

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# A NOTE ON MYCENAEAN NAMES

Although I provide syllabic transcriptions for all names (e.g., *a-pi-me-de*), whenever there is scholarly consensus on its rendering in Greek, I also provide that form (e.g., *Amphimēdēs*). If an equivalent form is attested in alphabetic Greek, I will also refer to it in Greek (e.g., Ἀμφιμήδης). Names for which there is no clear interpretation are written using the syllabic transcription (e.g., *a-ke-o*). More information about the interpretation of each personal name is provided in the appendix.

This system has some drawbacks: it is somewhat redundant, since it includes multiple versions of the same name. It may also be that future research will falsify or modify the interpretations of Linear B names. There are nevertheless advantages to writing the names in this way. First, it provides a more natural mode of expressing personal names, which of course would not have been pronounced by Mycenaeans the way they are spelled in the syllabic Linear B script. Second, it should render the text more accessible to non–Linear B specialists, who may find it difficult to wade through sentences full of transcribed Linear B words.

An extreme illustration of the benefits of this system is a name which is written $a_3$*-ki-*$a_2$*-ri-jo* in transcription. This form may appear bizarre to nonspecialists, who lack familiarity with the spelling conventions of the script and the numerical subscripts used by Mycenologists to indicate variant signs ($a_3$ represents *ai*, and $a_2$ represents *ha*). The underlying form is a perfectly normal Greek name, however: *Aigihalios*, formed from αἰγιαλός, "beach." This name also has a large number of direct parallels in alphabetic Greek: Αἰγιαλός, Αἰγιάλη, Αἰγιαλεύς, and the name of Diomedes' wife, Αἰγιάλεια (*Il.* 5.412).

# GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATIONS

For those who are not familiar with them, I provide here those standard abbreviations and editorial marks used in the study of Linear B tablets that appear in this book.[1]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sites | KN | Knossos |
| | MY | Mycenae |
| | PY | Pylos |
| | TI | Tiryns |
| Texts | .1, .2, .3, etc. | line numbers for a tablet with horizontal rulings |
| | .A, .B, etc. | line numbers for a tablet with a partial ruling |
| | .a, .b, etc. | line numbers for a tablet with no rulings |
| | .1a | line number for writing above the horizontal ruling |
| | *recto* | the front side of a tablet |
| | *verso* (*v.*) | the back side of a tablet |
| | *latus sinistrum* (*lat.sin.*) | the left side of a tablet |
| | *latus superius* (*lat.sup.*) | the upper side of a tablet |
| | *recto originalis* (*r.orig.*) | the original front side of tablet, erased and written over |
| | *vacat* | a single empty ruled line |
| Signs | - | connects signs in the same word |
| | , | word divider |
| | [ ] | missing text or tablet surface |
| | ⌞ ⌟ | tablet surface broken at bottom of line |
| | [ · ] | a single sign is missing |
| | [ a ] | missing but restorable text |
| | ⟦ a ⟧ | erased but legible text |
| | ⟨ a ⟩ | text mistakenly omitted by scribe |
| | ạ | damaged sign, uncertain but likely reading |
| | · | damaged sign, no certain reading possible |
| | a[ | break on tablet surface; a sign may or may not follow |
| | a-[ | break on tablet surface; a sign certainly follows |
| | *vestigia* (*vest.*) | remains of illegible signs |

1 Palmer 2008 provides a fuller introduction to Linear B conventions and resources.

## CHAPTER ONE

# PAUPERS AND PEASANTS AND PRINCES AND KINGS

> In all societies ... two classes of people appear—a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolises power and enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first ...
>
> – Gaetano Mosca[1]

> Agamemnon and his noble peers have long enjoyed the prominence that was their due; now light is shed also on the conditions of life of the humble commoner—the nameless τις of the Homeric poems, who with his fellows formed the bulk of the population and rendered Agamemnon's glory possible.
>
> – Carl Blegen[2]

It is often assumed that the social order of ancient states was divided into two classes, elite and commoner,[3] and the Mycenaean world is no exception. Until recently, it was usual to describe Mycenaean society in terms of a strict hierarchy surmounted by the king, whose Mycenaean title is *wanax*.[4] This model of society was based on the understanding that Mycenaean palaces virtually monopolized and coordinated all production, consumption, and exchange.[5] The administrative hierarchy managing this economic system was normally interpreted as a bureaucratic system (*sensu* Weber)

---

1 Mosca 1939, p. 50. The original Italian reads as follows: "in tutte le Società ... esistono due classi di persone, quella dei governanti e l' altra dei governati. La prima, che è sempre la meno numerosa, adempie a tutte le funzioni politiche, monopolizza il potere e gode i vantaggi che ad esso sono uniti; mentre la seconda, più numerosa, è diretta e regolata dalla prima ..."

2 Blegen 1921, pp. 125–126.

3 Sjoberg 1960, pp. 109–144; Chase and Chase 1992, pp. 8–9; Trigger 2003, pp. 142–166.

4 E.g., Blegen 1975, pp. 179–181; Chadwick 1976, pp. 69–83; Drews 1988, p. 195; 1993, p. 156; Deger-Jalkotzy 1996, pp. 724–725; Runnels and Murray 2002, pp. 99–100; Feuer 2004, p. 121; Schofield 2007, pp. 116–117; Maran 2011, p. 173.

5 This redistributive model was first defined by Finley 1957. See too Finley 1999, pp. 28–29. Killen (1985, 2008) elaborates on Finley's model with careful attention to the textual evidence.

populated by officeholders who received direction from the king.[6] The palace, the administrative seat of the kingdom, coordinated almost all activity within the polity. Secondary centers were managed by local officials, who coordinated activity at the regional level and were strictly subordinated to palatial authorities. The rest of the population—farmers, herders, smiths, potters, slaves, etc.—toiled away to support this top-heavy, centralized system.[7] There was therefore a direct correspondence between the economic order, characterized by extreme economic centralization, and the social order, characterized by rigid hierarchy.

This managerial approach has been modified significantly over the past 25 years. It is becoming increasingly clear that Mycenaean administrative texts recorded a fraction of the economic activity that took place within their territories.[8] The nature of the palace's control over various economic activities also varied from direct palatial management to decentralized taxation to irregular exchanges with individual economic agents.[9] In many cases, palatial economic systems relied upon activities outside the palace's direct control: both inputs and outputs were shared by the palatial authority and local communities.[10] The most convincing explanation of this evidence is that a significant portion of the total economy took place in a "non-palatial" or "para-palatial" economic sector.[11] The Mycenaean palaces, then, rather than monopolizing virtually all economic activity, were engaged in mobilizing goods and services that benefited the ruling elite.[12] Their interests were those that individually and collectively emphasized the symbolic impor-

I use the term palace to refer to both a physical structure and especially as a shorthand for the palatial authority.

[6] Bennet 2001, pp. 25–26, points out the limitations of this bureaucratic model. For Weber's discussion of bureaucratic authority, see Weber 1978, vol. 2, pp. 956–1005. Garfinkle 2008 provides a critique of bureaucratic approaches to understanding Ur III political organization.

[7] Chadwick 1976, pp. 77–83; Deger-Jalkotzy 1996; Killen 2008; Shelmerdine and Bennet 2008, p. 290.

[8] Morris 1986; Halstead 1988, 1992, 2007; Galaty and Parkinson 2007.

[9] Halstead 1992, 2001, 2007; Bennet 2007a, pp. 196–201; Nakassis et al. 2011; Bennet and Halstead forthcoming. Particular areas of economic activity and their relationship to the palace are discussed by Shelmerdine 1985 (perfumed oil); Halstead 1995 (agricultural goods); Knappett 2001; Whitelaw 2001; Galaty 2007 (pottery); Parkinson 2007 (chipped stone); Schon 2007 (chariots).

[10] Halstead 2001.

[11] de Fidio 1992; Halstead 1992, 2007. Bennet 2007a, p. 190, prefers "para-palatial," a term which reflects the fact that some non-state institutions, such as the *dāmos*, may have been under various forms of palatial control (Halstead 2001, pp. 49–50; cf. Lupack 2011).

[12] On mobilization, see Cherry 1978, p. 425; Killen 1985, pp. 253, 283; 2007a, p. 116; 2008, pp. 173–174 n. 37, 178; Earle 2002, p. 83; Bennet 2007a, p. 190; Halstead 2007.

tance of the center, and that cultivated the good will of the local elite and the population at large.[13] Recent work has therefore moved away from models of total centralization by the state, and toward understanding the Mycenaean palaces "as organizations operating within a social environment that … they only partially control."[14] Consequently interest has shifted toward articulating the complex socioeconomic relationships between the palace, other institutions, groups, and individuals.[15]

Models of Mycenaean society have been directly impacted by these developments. On one hand, there has been increasing dissatisfaction with the bureaucratic model of palatial officialdom.[16] On the other, research on individuals known in the secondary literature as "collectors" has suggested to some the existence of entrepreneurial activity by individuals who nevertheless are closely connected to the palatial authority.[17] This work suggests that the Mycenaean social and political order was quite complex, with respect to both the internal operation of the palace and its relationship to other institutions. Increasingly too there is a recognition that the study of individuals, and not just institutions, are crucial to understanding these relationships.[18]

There is every reason therefore for studies of Mycenaean society to focus on individuals. The evidence is, moreover, abundant: most of the preserved words in Mycenaean Greek are personal names of men and women who interacted with the palatial center (ca. 1,930 out of ca. 3,350, or 57.6 %).[19] In this study I focus especially on the activities of some 800 individuals identified by name in the Linear B texts from Pylos.[20] These men and women

---

13 Galaty and Parkinson 2007; Schon 2007; Shelmerdine 2008a, p. 145; Nakassis 2010; Palaima 2012.

14 Stein 1994, p. 13, cited by Galaty and Parkinson 2007, p. 26. A similar trend is evident in the study of Near Eastern palace states in the Bronze Age, illustrated, e.g., by Stein 1994 and Adams 2006.

15 de Fidio 2001; Nikoloudis 2006, 2008a; Halstead 2001; Lupack 2011; Palaima 2012.

16 Bennet 2001; Shelmerdine 2011.

17 de Fidio 2001, pp. 20–23; Bennet 2007a, p. 195.

18 Kyriakidis 1998; Bennet 2001; de Fidio 2001; Deger-Jalkotzy 2008; Nightingale 2008; Shelmerdine 2011.

19 Bartoněk 2003, p. 400. Cf. Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 92; Chadwick 1976, p. 64.

20 It remains the case that to a large extent our understanding of Mycenaean social structure is based on the written documentation from the Linear B tablets, especially those from Pylos. This fact, pointed out early on by Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 120, still remains true (Shelmerdine and Bennet 2008, pp. 289–290). Recent discussions (Hildebrandt 2007, pp. 92–137; Shelmerdine 2008a; Shelmerdine and Bennet 2008) rely to a large extent (although certainly not exclusively) on the Pylian textual evidence, especially when discussing state organization and relations between the palatial center and society at large.

are not given the attention they deserve, despite the fact that Margareta Lindgren published a detailed study of them in 1973, entitled *The People of Pylos*.[21] This extensive corpus of names allows us to identify some of the leading individuals of Aegean communities and describe their activities. Not only can a study of individuals personalize an impersonal subject matter, but it can also offer the possibility of moving beyond the simple palatial elite/non-palatial commoner dichotomy that characterizes much thinking on Mycenaean society.

The evidence about individual Mycenaeans in the tablets is difficult to work with, however. When a name appears in more than one tablet, it is usually thought to represent two individuals with the same name rather than a single person.[22] Consequently it becomes difficult to say much beyond simple statements such as "a man named *ko-ma-we* was a smith who was allocated bronze at the site of *a-si-ja-ti-ja*." Another man of the same name may appear in another document as a herder, but this is of little interest if we cannot connect these men to each other. If these bits of data could be associated with specific individuals rather than just names, however, then we would be in a position to say something more. That is, if the two instances of *ko-ma-we* could be shown to refer to a single person, then we could begin to analyze his activities, and, once more such individual dossiers had been assembled, to talk about the activities of smiths and herders.[23]

To work with the named individuals of Mycenaean Pylos, I have developed methods to create a new prosopography—that is, a systematic study of the characteristics of a group of historical individuals.[24] For each name attested more than once in the documents from Pylos, I attempt to determine whether one or more individuals is meant, and consequently what can be plausibly said about each individual. In some cases, I can conclude with varying degrees of certainty that the same name in different tablets refers to a single person. In this way, prosopography allows me to organize and analyze bits of information that had previously been disconnected from each other. This technical work opens up a large amount of evidence,

---

[21] A comparable study for Knossos has only recently been published: Landenius Enegren 2008.

[22] Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 352; Lejeune 1971, p. 187; Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 14. The reasons for this skepticism are discussed in further detail in section 2.3 below.

[23] Similar dossiers are commonly constructed in Mycenological scholarly research for individual entites such as scribal hands (Olivier 1967; Palaima 1988, 2011) and place-names (Sainer 1976; Shelmerdine 1981; McArthur 1993; Cosmopoulos 2006; Bennet 2011).

[24] On the definition of prosopography, see Verboven et al. 2007, pp. 37–41.

unconsidered hitherto, about Mycenaean society: indeed, it has potential to shed light on some of the main social and historical issues facing Mycenaean studies, particularly the definition and composition of the elite (see below, section 5.4), their relationship to the palatial center (see below, section 5.5), and their role in the historical process of state formation (see below, section 5.7).[25]

## 1.1. Putting Mycenaeans in Their Place

Mycenaeans did not act in a world devoid of institutional routines and structures. It is fruitless to investigate individual action if we cannot understand the context for that action. As Verboven et al. have pointed out, "Prosopography allows us to read between the lines of social and political structures and organizations, but there is no point trying to read between the lines if you do not know what is *on* the lines."[26] Fortunately, the lines—the roles and procedures preserved in the Linear B texts—are precisely the areas that have been the most scrutinized in Mycenaean studies.[27] Accordingly, in this section I briefly sketch the institutional framework within which the individuals named in the Linear B texts operated.[28] This brief review will serve as a foundation for the analysis of the people of Pylos. It will also highlight certain difficulties with past understandings of Mycenaean society, in particular the privileging of administrative roles.[29] The goal in this tradition of analysis is to determine the function(s) of administrative offices through etymological and contextual analyses of their titles, and then to locate the offices on a hierarchical map of Mycenaean society (e.g., Figure 1.1).[30]

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25 de Fidio 2000, p. 93; cf. de Fidio 2001, p. 23.

26 Verboven et al. 2007, p. 47.

27 It is also to our advantage that the bulk of the evidence for Mycenaean social and political structures comes from Pylos, rather than from another site, since recent studies have highlighted the differences between Mycenaean centers. Shelmerdine 1999; 2008a, pp. 148–151.

28 For more comprehensive surveys, see Hildebrandt 2007, pp. 92–137; Shelmerdine 2008a; Shelmerdine and Bennet 2008, pp. 292–295; Rougemont 2009, pp. 211–250.

29 E.g., Ventris and Chadwick 1956, pp. 119–120; Chadwick 1976, pp. 69–83; Shelmerdine 2008a, pp. 127–144. Studies that emphasize the roles of specific individuals include Shelmerdine 2005, 2011; Deger-Jalkotzy 2008; Nightingale 2008. Although the "collectors" are identified by personal name only, they tend to be analyzed in terms of a fixed administrative role (Killen 1995a; Shelmerdine 2008a, p. 132; see further below).

30 Figure 1.1 is based on Kilian 1988, p. 293, fig. 1; I have modified the offices within the cone to reflect current thinking about Mycenaean officialdom as described by Shelmerdine 2008a.

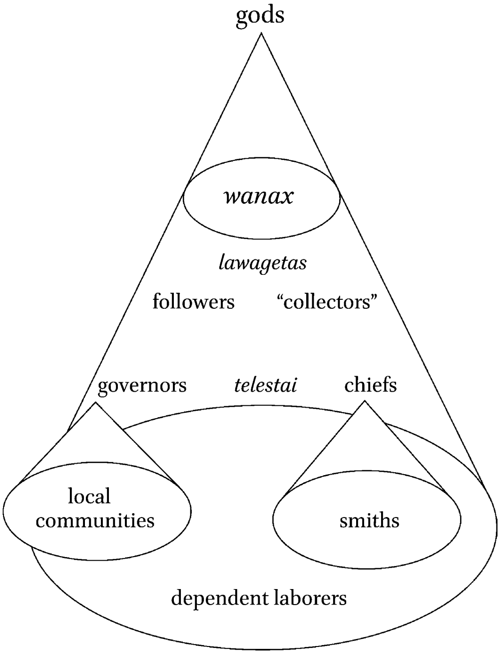


*Figure* 1.1: The traditional model of Mycenaean society, significantly modified from Kilian 1988, p. 293, fig. 1. Drawing D. Nakassis.

Virtually every study of Mycenaean society begins with the king, whose Mycenaean title is *wanax* (Linear B *wa-na-ka*, cf. ἄναξ) and in Homeric Greek means "lord."[31] The etymology of this title is uncertain—sometimes thought to be a loanword, a recent proposal suggests an Indo-European etymology—but the texts on which this term appears show the office's preeminence: the *wanax* is an important landholder and a major actor in religious affairs.[32] Only the *wanax* is recorded making political appointments: in one text (PY Ta 711) we are told that he made a man named *Augēwās* the provincial governor (*dāmokoros*, Linear B *da-mo-ko-ro*). The Mycenaean adjective for "royal" formed from his title, *wanakteros* (Linear B *wa-na-ka-te-ro*), which is normally applied to designate craft specialists, uses a specific ending that in Greek has a contrastive force: thus, what is royal is opposed to some-

[31] Carlier 1984, pp. 44–101, 117–134; 1998; Palaima 1995a, 2006.

[32] On the etymology of *wanax*, see Hajnal 1998, pp. 60–69; Palaima 2006, pp. 53–62; Beekes 2010, vol. 1, pp. 98–99, s.v. ἄναξ, -κτος.

thing else that is nonroyal, perhaps everything else.[33] This linguistic detail potentially sheds important light on how Mycenaeans organized their social world.

The *lāwāgetās* (Linear B *ra-wa-ke-ta*, cf. λαγέτας) is clearly the second-in-command in Mycenaean officialdom.[34] This official appears in similar capacities to the *wanax*, but is somewhat less prominent: he too is an important religious official and landholder, although the size of his estate is smaller than the king's. Some landholders are associated with him at Pylos: several named individuals, a wheelwright and perhaps an armorer.[35] Despite the general nature of his responsibilities, the *lāwāgetās* is usually considered a military leader because of the etymology of the title, which could mean "he who leads the people."[36] This need not indicate an exclusively military function, however; a recent study suggests that the *lāwāgetās* was also charged with the incorporation of "outsiders" into Mycenaean society.[37]

Thirteen men at Pylos are designated as *hekʷetai* (singular *hekʷetās*), which is universally translated "follower" (Linear B *e-qe-ta*, cf. ἑπέτης). These men are usually thought to be a band of aristocratic warriors who attend upon the *wanax*.[38] Contextual clues point toward a military function for this office: at Pylos the *hekʷetai* are an important part of preparations for a coast-guarding operation in the *o-ka* texts, and the adjective *e-qe-si-ja* ("of *e-qe-ta* type") is applied to chariots and chariot wheels.[39] Some indications in the texts may also suggest a religious role for the *hekʷetai*, although it is unclear whether this is integral to the office or a byproduct of their high standing among palatial officials.[40]

More controversial is the role of individuals known in modern scholarship as "collectors" (sometimes referred to as "owners," "bénéficiaires," and "overseers"). These men are not provided with an official title in the Linear B texts that corresponds to their role in the tablets; they are identified by

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[33] On the -τερος suffix, see Sihler 1995, pp. 356–357, 363–364.

[34] Carlier 1984, pp. 102–107.

[35] The named individuals are *ru-ko-ro, ku-ro*$_2$*, e-u-me-ne*, the armorer named *ka-ra-pi*, and perhaps a man named ]*de-u* (Nikoloudis 2006, pp. 156–160).

[36] A compound of λᾱϝός and ἄγω. Another possibility is that the second part of the compound derives from ἀγείρω, yielding "he who gathers the people" (Wyatt 1997).

[37] Nikoloudis 2006, 2008a.

[38] Chadwick 1976, pp. 72–73; Deger-Jalkotzy 1978.

[39] Chariots and chariot wheels described as *e-qe-si-ja* are to be found on PY Sa 787, Sa 790, and Wa 1148. At Knossos, textiles are designated as being *e-qe-si-jo* (Lc 646, Ld series, L 871).

[40] Palmer 1963, pp. 162–163. If *do-qe-ja* is the name of a deity, then PY An 607 could be used as evidence of the religious role of the *e-qe-ta* (see Chadwick 1976, p. 83; Carlier 1999, pp. 186–187). Deger-Jalkotzy 1972 argues for a secular context for this document.

personal name only.[41] The names of "collectors" appear in the genitive in animal husbandry texts, after the name of the herder directly responsible for a flock of sheep or goats. They were initially called "collectors" by modern scholars because of their occasional association with the term *a-ko-ra* (*agorā*, cf. ἀγορά), translated "collection."[42] Strictly defined, there are four "collectors" at Pylos, and twenty-five at Knossos. "Collectors" appear also on tablets recording various stages in the textile industry at Knossos, from shearing to the delivery of finished cloth.[43] Recent work has expanded the term "collector" to include other named individuals who are responsible for important economic activities under palatial purview, such as the man named *Kuprios* (Κύπριος, Linear B *ku-pi-ri-jo*) in the oil tablets from Knossos (Fh series).[44] A significant number of these "collectors" have names that recur at multiple Mycenaean sites, suggesting to Killen and Olivier that these men were part of an Aegean-wide aristocratic class whose names were drawn from a limited stock.[45] Although the precise status and function of the "collectors" are unclear, the fact that their responsibilities are recorded alongside and in parallel to non-"collector" entries suggests that their responsibilities were well integrated into the palatial economic system.[46] Most scholars consequently categorize the Pylian "collectors" as palatial administrators and treat them like other titled officers such as the *hekʷetai*.[47] Yet the lack of official title for the "collectors," coupled with the heterogeneity of their activities (at least at Pylos), may suggest that they are not officers of the state at all, like other non-titled indidivuals. This heterodox position will be discussed in more detail below (see section 5.4).

We can contrast high-level functionaries to officers with local powers. The Pylian kingdom is divided into two provinces, the Hither and the Further,

41 Lejeune 1966 has shown that *Amphimēdēs*, one of the four "collectors" at Pylos, is also a *hekʷetās*.

42 Rougemont 2001, pp. 129–131; 2009, pp. 251–261. See too Ventris and Chadwick 1956, pp. 200–201; Palmer 1963, pp. 165–166; Bennet 1992; Carlier 1992; Driessen 1992; Godart 1992; Killen 1995a.

43 Rougemont 2009, pp. 374–387.

44 Killen 1995a; Olivier 1998; 2001; Rougemont 2001, pp. 132–138; 2009, pp. 262–277, 401–422.

45 Killen 1979b, p. 177; Olivier 2001.

46 Bennet 1992, p. 80; 2007a, p. 195.

47 Bennet 1992, p. 97; Carlier 1992, p. 162; Driessen 1992, p. 210; Killen 1995a, p. 220; Shelmerdine 2008a, pp. 131–132; cf. Shelmerdine 1999, p. 564. The issue is sensibly discussed by Rougemont 2009, pp. 532–534. Knossian "collectors" are more numerous, rarely appear in the texts outside the textile industry, and occur predominantly outside the immediate hinterland of Knossos, suggesting that they were regional (non-Knossian) "owners" of flocks, compared to the Pylian "collectors" who seem more closely integrated into palatial operations (Bennet 1992, pp. 95–99; Shelmerdine 2008a, p. 132).

geographically separated from each other by Mount Aigaleon (Figures 1.2, 1.3).[48] Each province's governor, the *dāmokoros* (Linear B *da-mo-ko-ro*), is directly appointed by the *wanax* (PY Ta 711); the title's literal meaning is probably "nourisher of the *dāmos*" (cf. δῆμος and κορέννυμι).[49] The kingdom is also divided into sixteen districts, nine in the Hither Province and seven in the Further Province. Each of these districts is managed by two officials: an administrator called the *korētēr* (Linear B *ko-re-te*) and a vice-administrator called the *prokorētēr* (Linear B *po-ro-ko-re-te*), perhaps meaning "nourisher" and "vice-nourisher" respectively (cf. κορέννυμι).[50] The *korētēres* and *prokorētēres* appear to organize local activity for the palaces, especially in texts dealing with taxation (Jo 438, Jn 829, Na 1357, Nn 831). Although some scholars would prefer to see these officials as locally based, there are several reasons to think that they are palatial appointees rather than being selected locally.[51] First, the *korētēres* and *prokorētēres* fit directly into the administrative system imposed by the palace: one of each is located at each of the sixteen districts.[52] Indeed, very often a simple toponym is enough to identify them.[53] The (*pro*)*korētēres* thus belong to the simple administrative grid that the Pylian state projected onto what was actually a complex settlement pattern.[54] Second, these titles disappear from the lexicon sometime between the collapse of Mycenaean palatial culture and the earliest alphabetic texts. Morpurgo Davies has noted that elements of the Mycenaean lexicon that survive into historical Greek tend to be generic terms that were not exclusively connected with the palatial authority in the Mycenaean period, or that were able to be dissociated from that authority post-collapse.[55] It

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48 The provinces are referred to as *de-we-ro-a3-ko-ra-i-ja*, a compound of δεῦρο and °*aigolaiā* (itself a compound meaning "rocks of the goats," cf. λᾶας and αἴξ) and *pe-ra3-ko-ra-i-ja*, a compound of πέρα and °*aigolaiā* (García Ramón 2011, p. 240). The mountain separating coastal Messenia from the interior Pamisos valley is called Αἰγαλέον by Strabo (8.4.2). See Ruijgh 1972.

49 On function, see Carlier 1984, pp. 98–99; on etymology, Heubeck 1959, p. 130; García Ramón and Helly 2007, pp. 297–298 and n. 27; García Ramón 2010, pp. 69–87.

50 García Ramón and Helly 2007, pp. 297–298 n. 27; Palaima 2008, p. 385; García Ramón 2010, pp. 69–87.

51 For the *korētēr* and *prokorētēr* as locally based officials, see Killen 1998a, p. 20; Rougemont 2009, p. 531.

52 The one possible exception to the rule that *korētēres* are located at district capitals is Nn 831.9, which may relate to a toponym *ko-ri*[, perhaps *ko-ri*[*-to*] (*Korinthos*).

53 Consequently only three personal names of *korētēres* are known: *Klumenos* (*ku-ru-meno*), *Perimos* (*pe-ri-mo*), and *te-po-se-u* (Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 84).

54 On the concept of the state's administrative grid, see Scott 1998, pp. 1–83. On the complexities of actual settlement in Messenia, see Bennet 1995, 1999, 2002.

55 Morpurgo Davies 1979, esp. pp. 98–99; see too Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 129–130.

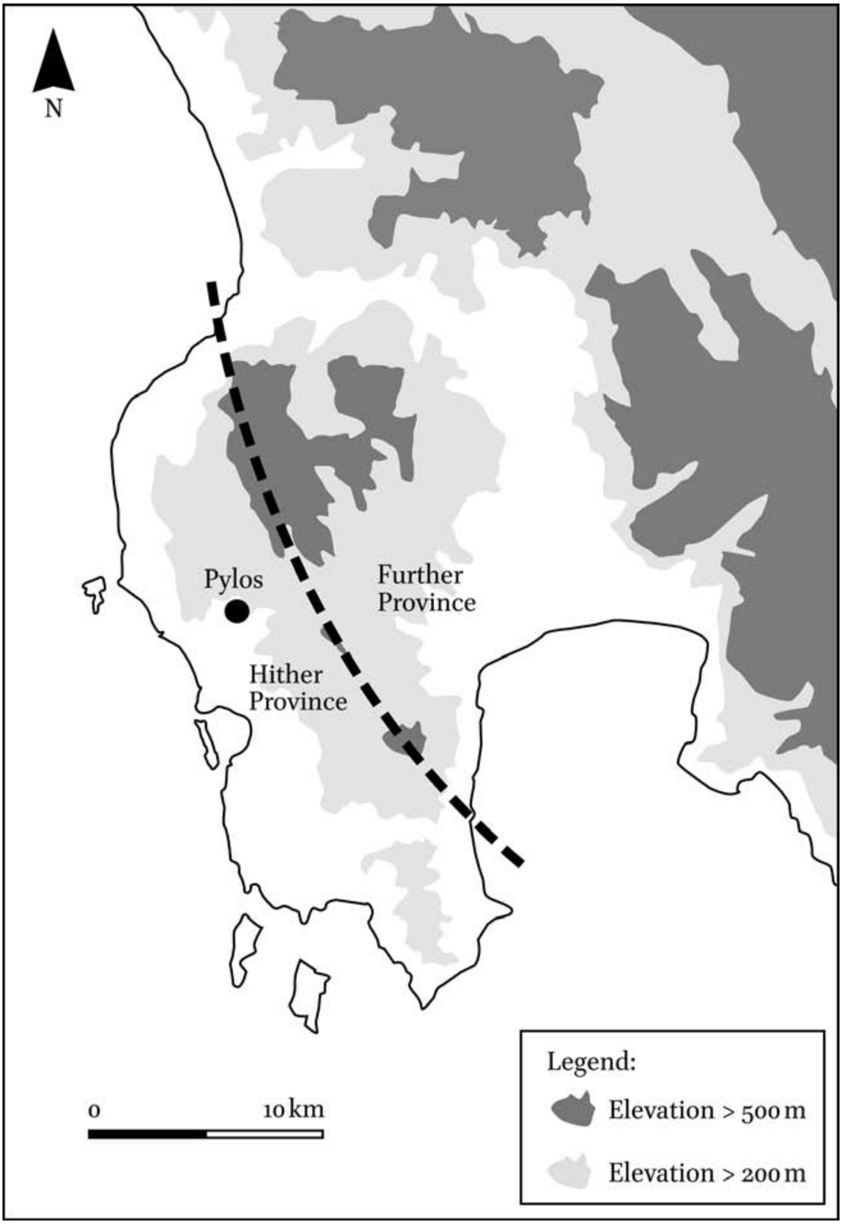


*Figure* 1.2: The provinces of Pylos. Drawing D. Nakassis.

*Figure* 1.3: Mt. Aigaleon, seen from Ano Englianos. Photo D. Nakassis.

therefore seems likely that (*pro*)*korētēr* and *dāmokoros* were titles associated with palatial, rather than local, authority. This impression is corroborated by the probable etymology of (*pro*)*korētēr* and *dāmokoros*, which seem to reflect the palace's propagandistic claim to "nourish" the communities within the polity.[56]

Interestingly, there is also some evidence to suggest that the major religious officials at Pylos—priest (*i-je-re-u*, cf. ἱερεύς), priestess (*i-je-re-ja* cf. ἱέρεια), and key-bearer (*ka-ra-wi-po-ro*, *klāwiphoros*, cf. κλειδοῦχος)—also fit into this administrative grid. These officials can be listed either with their title and place-name or just a place-name, suggesting that there is only one of each at a given location.[57] One priest, priestess, and key-bearer are attested

56 Palaima 2012 contrasts the title *dāmokoros* with the insult leveled at Agamemnon by Achilles, δημοβόρος βασιλεύς (*Il.* 1.231).

57 Examples of priests, priestesses, and key-bearers at Pylos being recorded by place-name only, whether recorded explicitly or understood implicitly, can be found in the following texts: Ae 110, Ae 303, Aq 218.2–3, Eb 297, Eb 339, Eb 1176, Ed 317, Eo 224.6, .8, Ep 539.7–8, Qa 1290. At Knossos, there are only three instances of the word *i-je-re-ja* (Fp 1.10, Fp 13.3 [x2]); all are *a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja* (ἀνέμων ἱέρεια), "priestess of the winds." It does seem however that a toponym is necessary and sufficient to identify the recipient. This is particularly clear in Fp 13.3; after recording a distribution of oil to the priestess of the winds at an undisclosed

at *Sphagiānes* (Linear B *pa-ki-ja-ne*), the district for which we have the most extensive documentation, and the taxation document Jn 829, which records that each district will give temple bronze, implies that there is (at least) one key-bearer in each district.[58]

Other local officials include the *telestai,* perhaps "service-men" (singular *telestās*, Linear B *te-re-ta*), who are attested as landholding supervisors.[59] They are associated with the *dāmos* (Linear B *da-mo*, cf. δῆμος), which in the Mycenaean period is an administrative body that has control over agricultural land and is expected to make contributions of goods to the palace.[60] The *telestai* were initially considered to owe their service to the *wanax*, but recent work indicates that they are connected to the *dāmos*.[61] In the Pylos landholding texts relating to district of *Sphagiānes* (*pa-ki-ja-ne*), almost half of the *telestai* are attested as "plot-holders" (*ko-to-no-o-ko, ktoinohokhoi*), who collectively constitute the *dāmos*, or at least speak on behalf of it. Texts relating to landholding and feasting in the region of *sa-ra-pe-da* also equate the *telestai* and the *dāmos*.[62] The *dāmos* is increasingly being recognized as an important local institution in the Mycenaean world.[63] Killen has argued persuasively that most of the agricultural holdings recorded in the Linear B texts were located on *dāmos* land.[64] Indeed, it seems likely that it was an institution that preexisted, and ultimately outlived, the palaces.[65] It is unfortunately impossible to know what kinds of activities it organized outside of the agricultural affairs, since it is even difficult to know whether the term *dāmos* referred to the community as a whole, or if its meaning was restricted to an administrative body.[66]

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location (probably therefore understood as Knossos; possibly this priestess is located at **au-ri-mo*, since the allative *au-ri-mo-de* appears on line 2), the scribe writes the toponym *u-ta-no* followed by *a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja*.

58 Palaima 2001, pp. 158–159.

59 Chadwick 1976, p. 76, considers them "the most important people in the local districts after the governor and his deputy." Chadwick's interpretation is based partly on their prominence on PY Er 312, in part on an analogical argument that the *telestai* relate to the *korētēres* as the *hekʷetai* relate to the *wanax* (Chadwick 1976, p. 76). Since research since shows that the *telestai* are involved with *dāmos* (Carlier 1987), it would be better to see the *telestai* as important *dāmos* officials.

60 Lejeune 1965 (= Lejeune 1973, pp. 137–154), who superbly describes it as "une entité administrative locale à vocation agricole" (Lejeune 1973, p. 141).

61 Palmer (1963, pp. 83–87, 190–196) connects the *telestai* to the *wanax*; cf. Chadwick 1976, p. 76. Carlier 1987 showed that *telestai* are instead involved with the *dāmos*.

62 de Fidio 1977, pp. 114–116; Carlier 1987; Nakassis 2012a, p. 7.

63 Lupack 2011.

64 Killen 1998a.

65 Cf. Palaima 2004b, p. 282.

66 Many scholars have suggested that the *dāmos* had a broader nontechnical meaning

Another local official that has attracted much attention is the *g^w^asileus* (Linear B *qa-si-re-u*, cf. βασιλεύς), in part because in alphabetic Greek βασιλεύς indicates the highest possible political office, usually the king. In the Late Bronze Age, however, the *gʷasileus* seems locally based and the title is usually translated "chief."[67] The extant attestations of *gʷasileus* in Linear B are consistent with an office concerned with production: *gʷasilēwes* appear in texts recording the allocation of metal to craftsmen, the receipt of finished goods to the palace, and work groups.[68] They are always indicated by personal name and title, but with no other modifier, such as a toponymic designation, patronymic, or profession.[69] There is some evidence indicating that the office was hereditary, passing from father to son.[70] All this suggests that, unlike the *koretēres*, they do not fit neatly into the administrative grid of the state. This hypothesis, coupled with the observation that the term βασιλεύς in later Greek appears to describe the leading individuals of Aegean communities, suggests that the *gʷasilēwes* were local chieftains who occupied the power void after the collapse of the palaces.[71] The *gʷasileus* thus provides a contrast to the offices of *dāmokoros, korētēr*, and *prokorētēr* (discussed above). The former is probably pre-Greek in origin, represents an office whose authority is based in local communities, and it survives into the historical Greek lexicon. The latter offices, on the other hand, are Greek coinages, belong to offices associated with the palatial administrative system, and apparently fall out of use in the Iron Age.[72] All this is consistent

approximating "community" (Deger-Jalkotzy 1983, pp. 90–91, 95–97; Killen 1998a; Shelmerdine and Bennet 2008, p. 300). If *dāmos* was a nontechnical term, however, we might expect it to be more common in compound personal names. Three Pylian names are compounded with *dāmos*: *e-ke-da-mo, e-u-da-mo* and *e-u-ru-da-mo* (Landau 1958, p. 166; Palaima 1999, pp. 372–373). To this we may add one possible name at Knossos ([•]-*pi-da-ṃọ*, KN X 5577) and two at Thebes (*a-ko-da-mo* and *a-ko-ro-da-mo*; see García Ramón 2006a, pp. 45–50). On the other hand, *dāmos* must form the first element in the compound official title *dāmokoros*, which might suggest at least a nascent general, nontechnical meaning for the word.

[67] Carlier 1984, pp. 108–116; Lenz 1993, pp. 92–104. The word *gʷasileus* is quite possibly a non-Greek word built on a non-Indo-European root and suffix: Perpillou 1973; Palaima 1995a, p. 125 and n. 18. Beekes (2010, vol. 1, p. 203, s.v. βασιλεύς) stresses that it is a pre-Greek word (not a loanword).

[68] Carlier 1995.

[69] Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 129.

[70] Carlier 1984, p. 110; 1990, p. 52 n. 37; 1995, p. 358; 1999, p. 189.

[71] Morpurgo Davies 1979; Bennet 1997, pp. 521–522; Palaima 2006, pp. 68–69. See too Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 129–130.

[72] Cf. Bennet's (2008, pp. 157–159) contrast between craft producers designated with the *-eus* suffix and those designated with the *-worgos* suffix; the latter are particularly associated with palatial production.

with the view that *g*ʷ*asilēwes* were chiefs on whom the palace relied primarily as supervisors of work groups dealing chiefly with craft production.[73]

Titled officials, in sum, comprise a relatively small group of administrators.[74] The officers reviewed above comprise fewer than 100 individuals at Pylos, although the total population of the polity is estimated at 50,000.[75] The remainder of the populace constitutes the "lower classes" in most discussions.[76] Included in this category are professional groups monitored by the palace, including smiths, shepherds, armorers, shipwrights, leather stitchers, glassworkers, perfumers, weavers, fullers, carpenters, potters, bakers and hunters.[77] For most professional groups, the people designated by these terms are anonymous, so it is often difficult to say much more than that these specialists existed and were managed directly or indirectly by the palace. The palace compensates these specialists for their work in various ways: payment in staple goods, allocations of land, and tax remissions are all attested in the Pylian texts.[78]

More can be said about fully dependent laborers, especially groups of women and children. Chadwick counts 1,654 women and children in the Pylian texts who are primarily involved in textile production; attendants, grain-grinders and bath-attendants are also recorded.[79] It is likely that these people were entirely dependent upon the palace for their subsistence; some of them, moreover, may have been war captives.[80] They are not, however, called servants or slaves, although this term exists in Mycenaean and may have originally meant war captive (*do-e-ro, do-e-ra*, cf. δοῦλος, δούλη).[81] Although there is some evidence for chattel slavery, including documents from Knossos that apparently record the purchase of slaves, many individuals designated as slaves in the Linear B texts are attached to deities, religious officials, and high-ranking administrators, and these slaves seem to have

73 de Fidio 1992, pp. 180–181; Palaima 2001, p. 155.

74 Other named officials are sprinkled throughout the texts, but their presence does not substantially alter the sketch presented here. See further Lindgren 1973, vol. 2; Shelmerdine 2008a; Rougemont 2009, pp. 211–245.

75 The inner elite are the *wanax* (1), *lāwāgetās* (1), *hek*ʷ*etai* (12–13), and the "collectors" (4). The local elite are the *dāmokoroi* (2), *korētēres* (16), *prokorētēres* (16), *telestai* (21), *du-ma-te* (3–5), priests (7–8), priestesses (4), key-bearers (1–2), and the *g*ʷ*asilēwes* (9). On the population of the Pylian polity, see Whitelaw 2001, p. 64.

76 Chadwick 1976, p. 77.

77 Gregersen 1997a; Shelmerdine 2008a, p. 142.

78 Gregersen 1997b.

79 Chadwick 1988.

80 Chadwick 1988, pp. 83, 92–93.

81 Garlan 1988, p. 26 n. 4; Watkins 2000, p. 17; Southern 2004.

enjoyed a relatively high status.[82] They show up frequently, at any rate, in landholding texts alongside non-slaves. For these individuals, "servant" is probably a better translation than "slave," and indeed their titles may have been honorifics. I consequently refer to all individuals described as *do-e-ro* (and *do-e-ra*) as servants.[83]

The textual data, taken at face value, suggest a division of Mycenaean society into three groups: the palatial elite, the regional elite, and the lower classes.[84] The palatial elite consist of the administrators whose authority seems polity-wide: the *wanax*, *lāwāgetās*, the followers, and perhaps the "collectors," if they are interpreted as palatial officials (see above, this section). Below them are managers with a regional influence: district governors, *telestai*, *g*$^{w}$*asilēwes*, and so on. The lower classes are the rest, who are materially rather than administratively productive: farmers, craftspeople, slaves, and so on. These three classes are often simplified into two groups: elite officeholders and the nonelite.

Yet the textual data cannot be taken at face value.[85] It is clear even from this cursory survey that the Linear B texts do not provide an even or

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82 Lejeune 1959; Garlan 1988, pp. 25–29. Olivier 1987 discusses texts that apparently record the purchase of slaves. Only one *do-e-ro* is recorded in each of these texts recording the purchasing of slaves, and the slave's name is written in majuscule letters. That is, they are not low-status, nameless *do-e-ro*, but named slaves of named individuals (and in one case [KN B 988], the owner is a "collector" named *ko-ma-we*).

83 Mele 1976 has pointed out that the Mycenaean *e-re-u-te-ro* (ἐλεύθερος) describes not legal freedom but is applied to land exempt from the payment of taxes (see too Killen 1995c). If *do-e-ro* and *e-re-u-te-ro* are opposed terms, then we might expect *do-e-ro* to indicate a legally free person who owes service. That is to say, the semantics of freedom and service are oriented toward the demands and obligations of the palace.

84 Chadwick 1976, pp. 69–83; Shelmerdine 2008a.

85 A parallel is provided by the mortuary data, which are likewise difficult to fit into a two- or three-class social structure, perhaps even more so than the textual data (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, p. 79; cf. Mee and Cavanagh 1984). Recent studies emphasize the great diversity of mortuary displays and the difficulty in generalizing from them (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, pp. 78–79; Dickinson 2006, p. 39). This difficulty is compounded by the fact that there need not be complete correspondence between social status in life and energy expenditure in burial (Voutsaki 1995, pp. 56–57; Parker Pearson 1999, pp. 84–85). Although in LH IIIA–B tholos tombs may have been exclusively palatial in the Argolid (Voutsaki 1995, 2001), the construction of Messenian tholos tombs outside of Pylos at this time suggests that they were not exclusively palatial, although they may have been used by families with close connections to the ruling elite (Bennet 1995, p. 599; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, pp. 77–78; Shelmerdine 2008a, p. 137). Dickinson (1983) and Lewartowski (1995; 2000, pp. 47–51) have both refuted the notion that individuals buried in simple pits and cists were from a different social stratum, and chamber tombs likewise paint a complex picture (Cavanagh and Mee 1990; Wright 2008). Like the textual data, then, the mortuary data are complex, regionally diverse, and require careful contextual analysis.

thorough picture of Mycenaean society, in large part because the authors of these documents were interested in composing short and efficient administrative records.[86] We know a great deal (relatively speaking) about administrators because they appear in the texts as agents responsible for various activities: the followers attend upon military units, *korētēres* coordinate the payment of taxes to the palace, and so on. Specialists and other laborers are known because their work was monitored by the palace; their presence is documented on personnel registers, on texts detailing the payments of staples given to them, on texts recording distributions of raw materials, and occasionally on landholding documents. Not everyone in the polity will have been monitored by the administration. Indeed, of the 50,000 individuals estimated to have lived in the Pylian kingdom in 1200 BC, about half of whom would have been adults, only some 4,100 are tracked in the preserved tablets.[87] Presumably the majority of the adult population would have been engaged with agricultural pursuits, and would not have interacted directly with the palatial administration on a regular basis, except perhaps as anonymous contributors of goods and labor to the palace as members of their communities.[88]

A simple tripartite model of Mycenaean society is subject to additional criticism on at least two grounds. First, as mentioned above, it is increasingly clear that the palaces directly controlled only select parts of all economic activity.[89] The economic role of the palaces has traditionally been considered "central and dominant" on the basis of the range and depth of its interests attested in the Linear B tablets,[90] but recent work would prefer to see the palatial centers as considerably reduced in their geographical reach and the range of activities under their control. It is nevertheless clear that even if we adhere to the view that the palaces were central to the Mycenaean economy, they did not encompass the entire economy, nor were they the only institutions of significance.[91] There was therefore room for individuals to operate alongside and outside of palatial authority, economically and socially.[92] A second, related criticism is that the traditional model is based

[86] Shelmerdine 2008a, p. 115.

[87] Hiller 1988, p. 60. On the percentage of adults, see the demographic models presented in Akrigg 2011, pp. 54–55.

[88] On taxation and military service, see Shelmerdine 2008a, pp. 145–147.

[89] Halstead 1988, 1992, 2007; de Fidio 2001; Bennet 2007a; Galaty and Parkinson 2007.

[90] Killen 2008, p. 180.

[91] de Fidio 2001; Shelmerdine 2006; Killen 2008, p. 181 n. 54; Lupack 2011.

[92] Shelmerdine 2011. This is not to say that the palace was not a central institution; clearly it was. I do not agree, however, that "it would be impossible to overestimate the role of the

not on an analysis of individuals, but of words, especially official titles and occupational terms.[93] Thus, an occupational group—for instance, smiths—can be treated not as a set of individuals who happen to do a specific type of work for the palace, but as a homogeneous group.[94] Thus variation within a group is suppressed, even when there is evidence available to suggest otherwise.[95] Essentially official titles and occupational designators are treated as stable social roles.[96]

The central problem with reading Mycenaean society straightforwardly from the texts is that it conflates the terminology of palatial administrators with reality. The nature of the documents is such that scribes record only the information that is directly pertinent to the composition of the document. There is, for example, no need for scribes to record everything they know about each person or group whom they record. If a scribe describes a man as a priest, this is not because this is his only position in the administration or in society generally, but because it is important in the particular context of the document. Thus, official titles and professional designations are common in certain types of documents (like landholding texts, where they describe the grounds on which the plots are allocated) but are absent in many others (like records of palatial flocks and allocations of metal to smiths). The terms used by scribes also need not represent categories of identity that would have been embraced by the individuals so designated. It may have been useful for scribes to designate individuals who routinely received metal from the palace to be worked into finished goods as *khalkēwes*, "smiths" (Linear B *ka-ke-we*, cf. χαλκεῖς), but it need not follow that these individuals constituted a coherent group or identified themselves as such.

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centre" (de Fidio 2001, p. 23), since clearly Finley did when he hypothesized that the palace economy "covered the whole of the economy" with no room for independent activity of any kind (Finley 1957, p. 135). It is this view that prevents us from taking individual agency seriously.

93 It is symptomatic that the chapter entitled "The People of the Tablets" in John Chadwick's textbook of the Mycenaean world (1976, pp. 61–68) focuses almost exclusively on onomastics, with a small aside on demography.

94 Killen 1979a; 2001a, pp. 171–176; 2006b; Gillis 1997; Tournavitou and Sugerman 2000.

95 For instance, some smiths are owners of multiple servants, a situation that suggests administrative importance to some scholars (de Fidio 1989, p. 23; Killen 1995a, p. 215; see Rougemont 2009, pp. 502–504, 509, 518–519), but this does not deter these same scholars from characterizing smiths as low-status laborers (Killen 2001a, pp. 171–176; 2006b).

96 The tendency to limit the individual to stable social roles, common in processual archaeology, has been subject to intense critique. See, e.g., Parker Pearson 1982; 1999, pp. 33, 83–84; Fowler 2004, p. 3.

The tendency to approach society through words can create significant distortions of the evidence. A good example of this effect is the coinage of a modern term, "collector," where no Mycenaean title exists.[97] As discussed above, one of the features of the "collectors" is that these men are always identified by personal name only.[98] This is one good reason not to treat them as a homogeneous group that performs a single economic function. Yet the secondary literature has been focused on categorizing these individuals, creating the best term for them, expanding the criteria for their definition, and treating them as a well-defined group whose status and function can be investigated with the same methods used to analyze palatial officials like *hek*ʷ*etai*.[99] This approach is grounded in the traditional bureaucratic model of palatial authority, in which offices are delimited in terms of their powers, positioned in a hierarchy of decision-makers, and abstracted from their officeholders. It is clear, however, that individuals could and did hold more than one office at the same time. It follows that the conflation of the activities of individual officeholders with the functions of the office itself cannot be taken for granted. At Pylos, there are four "collectors" *sensu stricto*, and their attested activities are strikingly diverse from each other. If we examine the responsibilities of the "collectors" *sensu lato*, then we are presented with a bewildering array of activities and potential functions associated with "collectors," even if we restrict our analysis to Pylos.

The "collectors" are a heterogeneous group, then, with a wide array of duties. The main reason to lump them into a single category is the fact that as individuals they do not easily fit into the rigid framework of Mycenaean officialdom (Figure 1.1). Since individuals can hold multiple positions at once and some of the most important actors lack official titles, however, it follows that the Mycenaean state cannot be adequately comprehended as a static hierarchy of offices. Consequently neither can the structure of Mycenaean society be derived from such a rigid model. This is not to say that in the Mycenaean world official titles were meaningless or bureaucratic

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97 Bennet 2001, p. 26.

98 There are two potential exceptions to this rule. The "collector" *Amphimēdēs* (Linear B *a-pi-me-de*), whose servants are described as *hek*ʷ*esioi* (Linear B *e-qe-si-jo*), indicating that he is a *hek*ʷ*etās* (Lejeune 1966). Nevertheless, *Amphimēdēs* is never directly described as a *hek*ʷ*etās*. The other possible exception is that the "collector" *Alksoitās* (Linear B *a-ko-so-ta*) may be labeled as a *hek*ʷ*etās* on a clay label (Wa 917), but it is preferable to take *e-qe-ta* on Wa 917.2 as dative, in reference to *Diwieus* (Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 207; Killen 2007b).

99 This issue is reviewed critically by Rougemont 2001; 2009, pp. 262–277; cf. de Fidio 2001, p. 22. On issues of definition and terminology, see Bennet 1992. On the expansion of criteria, see Killen 1995a; Olivier 1998, 2001.

elements were not present, but that the study of official titles is only the first step toward comprehension of state and society. This is especially true since a large number of individuals, including some who appear in a large number of texts in important roles, apparently hold no offices whatsoever.

## 1.2. From Roles to Individuals

Thus far, I have argued that conventional models of Mycenaean society are deficient on the grounds that their reliance on administrative terms yields a rigid social structure populated by classes of fairly homogeneous individuals assigned to particular roles. I also pointed out that this model has difficulties accounting for activities outside of the direct palatial control and the internal heterogeneity of the political order. In fact, there is much more to Mycenaean society than offices and functions. We can attempt to redress this imbalance through study of the activities and practices of persons rather than impersonal institutions and offices. After all, social and political institutions are not real objects in the world, but are rather abstractions from innumerable practical actions of individuals.[100] Fortunately the Linear B tablets are full of evidence of various interactions between individuals, groups, and institutions, and most of these interactions are associated with the personal names of specific individuals.

The Linear B evidence as it relates to individuals is selective, of course, in two key respects. First, the individuals for whom we have evidence are not a random selection of Pylians. Rather, individuals are identified by name when they interact with the palatial administration directly and when they are personally responsible to the palace in some respect. The more an individual interacts with the administration, the more information we are likely to have about him or her. Second, because the Linear B tablets are laconic administrative documents, they provide only the information that was directly relevant to the scribes. What we can deduce about the activities and identities of individuals is therefore limited by the goals of the scribal administration. To a certain extent we can read between the lines to make plausible inferences beyond what the texts tell us explicitly, but it nevertheless remains the case that our access to certain aspects of Pylian life is difficult or impossible through the tablets alone. Despite these limitations, the evidence of named individuals is crucial because it permits

[100] Sapir 1931; Giddens 1984; Mitchell 1999; Nakassis 2013.

us to expand our understanding of Mycenaean society beyond the roles of palatial officialdom (*wanax, lāwāgetās, hek*$^{w}$*etai*, etc.).

Fortunately, the evidence about Pylian individuals is abundant: the largest category of the Mycenaean lexicon consists of the personal names of men and women.[101] These names belong to individuals responsible for goods and services which fall under palatial purview: smiths who work bronze, herders who manage flocks, landowners, laborers, supervisors of various groups, and so on. Mycenaean tablets are unpretentious documents that deal with regular operations from the perspective of the palatial administration. This is disappointing for those historians who would prefer texts that illuminate political and social history—for this reason they are sometimes contemptuously referred to as "laundry lists"—but this specificity permits a detailed picture of the daily operations of the palatial administration and the role of individuals in these practices. A prosopographical analysis of the names in the Pylian tablets can therefore provide one of the most detailed synchronic discussions of the practices of political authority anywhere in the ancient world.[102] This is generally significant since, as Sapir has pointed out, social institutions are actually composed of a complex of interactions that unfold in time, and are only regarded as freestanding entities when regularized, standardized, and crucially, named, in practice.[103] Yet no other sustained study has been undertaken for any ancient state in which prosopography is used to model the operation of political authority at the level of the individual. This is unfortunate, since prosopographical data can provide empirical support for the dynamic models of social and political organization currently favored by archaeologists, in which individuals and social groups with different goals and resources interact and compete, always in forms that are culturally specific.[104]

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101 Names are identified on the basis of context and form (García Ramón 2011, pp. 214–215). These names are entirely consistent morphologically and semantically with what we know about Greek naming practices from historical periods (Morpurgo Davies 1999, 2000; García Ramón 2011). Because the Linear B documents are laconic administrative texts, these personal names must refer to specific individuals who are personally responsible to the palace for specific activities. This holds true whether or not the named individuals personally carry out these activities; cf. Kyriakidis 2008.

102 A relatively large number of scholars work on a small corpus of Linear B documents (ca. 5,500 texts) from 10 sites (Pylos, Knossos, Khania, Thebes, Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea, and now Iklaina, Volos, and Ayios Vasileios) and consequently palatial operations are already very well understood. See generally Palaima 2003a; 2003b, pp. 57–73. New Linear B discoveries from Iklaina, Volos (Kastro-Palaia), and Ayios Vasileios are presented in Shelmerdine 2012; Skafida et al. 2012; Aravantinos and Vasilogamvrou 2012, respectively.

103 Sapir 1931.

104 Stein 1998, p. 4; Yoffee 2005, pp. 22–41; Adams 2006.

Without the individual, it would be impossible to bring order to the Linear B data by linking personal names and designations with practices. In focusing on the names, we are also following the lead of the Mycenaean scribes themselves, who must have written down names because they served to indicate particular individuals who were known to the scribes and who were engaged in economic and administrative transactions of concern to the palace. It is important to emphasize however that in using the term individual, I am not making any claims about Mycenaean constructions of personhood, nor do I advocate an approach that assumes autonomous individuals who are then opposed to state and society.[105] In my view individuals and society are inextricably linked and mutually constitutive: individuals are thoroughly socialized by social structures that are in turn reproduced and reshaped by individuals' practices.[106] This relational way of thinking permits a model of Mycenaean society in which individuals retain an important role, without committing to some culturally specific notion of individuality and without subordinating society to the individual or vice versa.

Shifting the focus from administrative roles to the individuals provides two main opportunities. First, it becomes possible to investigate the backgrounds of the individuals holding a particular office. That is, rather than assuming that an individual's role explains all of his or her administrative responsibilities, we can instead investigate this assumption by looking at the activities of a set of officeholders. This also permits us to ask questions about their backgrounds, what they have in common, and so on. In some cases, this research can shed new light on the function of the office itself. I argue below, for instance, that there is some evidence that one function of the *hekʷetai* was to provide men to watch over coastal regions (see below, section 4.9). Second, because there are some individuals who hold multiple offices, and many individuals who hold none at all, the shift from roles

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105 The debate about the role of the individual in archaeology is enormous; it is usefully summarized by Knapp and van Dommelen 2008, who respond primarily to the important work of Fowler 2004 and Thomas 2004. On the problem of "the individual and society," see Williams 2001, pp. 65–83. As Williams points out, the default model in which individuals conform or do not conform to societal norms is weak. Yet this dualism between individuals and society does manifest itself in current thinking about the Mycenaean world (Burns 2010, pp. 111–115; Pantou 2011).

106 This theoretical approach, often termed agency or practice theory, derives from anthropological and sociological theory, especially Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Giddens 1979, 1984; Sewell 1992. A concise survey of these and other theorists is provided by J. Parker 2000. For archaeological studies informed by these approaches, see Yoffee 2005; Pauketat 2007; Robb 2007; Nakassis 2013.

to individuals radically increases the amount of evidence that bears on the nature of the Mycenaean social and political order.

This data set, consisting of all the personal names from the Linear B texts from the site of Pylos, comprises 700 complete words certainly identified as personal names, with an additional 264 fragmentary or uncertain names bringing the total to 964. A superficial glance at these names shows that the individuals who bore these names occupied various positions within Mycenaean society. At one extreme, some names appear multiple times and belong to individuals closely associated with the palatial administration, such as the "collectors." Other names appear only once and belong to seemingly humble professions such as shipwright, smith, and herder. This evidence has the potential to enhance our understanding of Pylian society qualitatively and quantitatively. Not only do the individuals identified by names in the tablets allow us to investigate those areas of activity outside of palatial officialdom, but they also shed light on a larger and more representative portion of the elite population.[107]

In order to be relevant to the study of Mycenaean society, however, these names must be associated with specific individuals. This means attempting to connect the various names in the tablets to people through prosopographical analysis. Although a prosopography of Pylos was published by Lindgren in 1973, it did not systematically address the crucial issue of making prosopographical identifications from the mass of preserved names, in part because Lindgren's study belonged to the first generation of Mycenological reference works, and so was designed in large part to systemize knowledge about personal names and designations.[108]

The Pylian documentation is ideal for this enterprise, because it is unique in its scope and its concentration with respect to time, space, and function (see further below, section 2.1). Linear B texts are highly laconic texts relating to the internal operations of the palatial economy, and they were temporary documents preserved only by accidental fires. At Pylos, all of the texts (with a small number of exceptions) date to the year of the final destruction of the palace, ca. 1200 BC, and cover a five- to seven-month period.[109] They

[107] On the growing opinion that the Mycenaean elite (*sensu lato*) probably constituted a significant portion of the population, see Lane 2003; Dickinson 2006, p. 39.

[108] Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, pp. 7–8; Palaima 2003b, p. 64.

[109] The exceptions are La 994, Ae 995, Xa 1419, and Xa 1420, written by Hands 13 and 91; these texts are earlier in date, perhaps LH IIIA, ca. 1390–1340/1330 BC (Palaima 1983; 1988, pp. 111–113, 133, 162–169, 172; Driessen 2008; Skelton 2008, pp. 171–172). Xa 1449 has been joined to Vn 1339 and can no longer be attributed to this group (Melena 1998a, p. 166). Melena (2002a, p. 367) and Skelton (2010) have argued that the La texts from room 6 are earlier in date. The

were also all found in the palace proper, and indeed most were found in a small two-room Archives Complex.[110] The documents from Pylos therefore provide a detailed snapshot of a single institution.[111]

From a prosopographical perspective, these conditions are quite attractive. Although there are no universal criteria for what makes a plausible prosopographical identification, potential matches can be eliminated if the documents in question differ in chronology by more than the length of an individual career or if they refer to different cities or regions.[112] These problems do not intrude upon the Pylian data, however, since all individuals in the Pylian corpus automatically satisfy these criteria: all the texts date to a single year and relate to individuals and institutions within a single, relatively small polity. As a result, the individuals in this study belong to a single extended community that interacted directly with the palace within the span of a single year ca. 1200 BC.

## 1.3. Rethinking Mycenaean Society: A Road Map

This book is a study of Mycenaean society using the textual data from Pylos in Messenia, developing further the work of Margareta Lindgren, whose two-volume *People of Pylos* (1973) was the first major work of Mycenaean prosopography. In part, this book's prosopographical index (Appendix) updates Lindgren's first volume by taking into account improvements in the readings and interpretations of the Linear B texts over the past 35 years, which have rendered Lindgren's work out-of-date.[113] It also goes further than Lindgren, by using methods described in Chapter Two that make it clear

chronology of these tablets does not significantly affect my prosopography, however, since the texts are fragmentary and contain a small number of personal names (only three).

110 Palaima 2003a.

111 This is not to imply that this snapshot is complete; individual texts are fragmentary, as is the corpus as a whole.

112 E.g., Thornton 2002.

113 Lindgren 1973 was written without the benefit of *The Pylos Tablets Transcribed* (Bennett and Olivier 1973), the current standard transcription of the Pylos texts. Recent work, primarily by José Melena (1995a, 1995b, 1997a, 1997b, 1998a, 1998b, 2002a, 2002b), has greatly improved the accuracy of the transliterations of the texts. In interpretive terms, much has changed since Lindgren's work, which was written prior to the publication of the second edition of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Ventris and Chadwick 1973), a comprehensive lexicon (Aura Jorro 1985, 1993), not to mention the many advances published in scholarly articles and books in the past 35 years (on which, see Palaima 2003b, pp. 64–73). Since the identification of personal names is based both on linguistic form and textual context (see, e.g., Killen 1995c), improved interpretations also affect which words are interpreted as names.

that in many cases multiple attestations of the same name represent a single individual, rather than multiple individuals with the same name. My methods are based on a close analysis of the clustering of names in the Linear B texts, relying on the fact that the Pylian texts are restricted in time, space, and function. Previous studies have not made such prosopographical identifications or matches, because they assumed that most named individuals were of relatively low status, and therefore should not operate in more than one area of activity or region of the kingdom.[114] I show, however, that neither assumption is necessarily warranted, and that we can prove that many prosopographical matches should be considered reasonably certain. The nature of the evidence cannot produce complete certainty in all cases, however. I therefore categorize each potential prosopographical identification as certain, probable, possible, or tenuous. Nevertheless, the cumulative result is such that a large number of repeating personal names must represent the same individuals involved in multiple areas of activity within palatial purview.

This method is implemented in Chapters Three and Four by examining the personal names from administrative sets of texts and evaluating possible matches in other documents in the Pylos corpus. The results are detailed descriptions of the activities of specific people from what were once considered disconnected bits of information. By doing this, I can compile dossiers of the activities of particular men and women rather than mere lists of personal names. Chapter Three examines smiths and herders, Chapter Four soldiers, landowners, and other named individuals from the Pylos tablets.

This new way of analyzing the prosopographical data allows me to reconsider important questions, both about the characteristics of these named individuals and their relationships to the social structures of Mycenaean Pylos. In Chapter Five, I begin by arguing that named individuals were not a homogeneous group, but ranged in importance and status, at least in terms of their relation to the palace. At the top of the scale are a few individuals who are named in the largest number of tablets and are intimately involved with the most important affairs of the palace. At the bottom are many who are named in only one text and do not recur elsewhere; their responsibilities tend to be relatively minor. My prosopographical results indicate that there is a large group of individuals, almost 200 in number, who fall in between these extremes. The fact that they are often responsible for affairs in multiple economic fields, sometimes in different regions of the Pylian kingdom, suggests that they were important in their own right, with the wherewithal

[114] Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 352; Lejeune 1961 (= Lejeune 1971, pp. 169–195).

to coordinate and support a variety of activities. We can plot individuals along a continuum of importance, then, which correlates with the extent of their involvement with the palatial economy.[115] I argue that many (if not all) of these individuals come from wealthy families in the communities of Messenia. The mortuary evidence, patchy as it is, suggests that in the early Mycenaean period a large number of groups were engaged in competition through tomb building and displays of wealth, without however any clear winner until LH IIIA, when western Messenia seems to come under the sway of Pylos.[116] The expansion of the Pylian state must have involved the absorption and cooption of these families and their material resources. This cooption was never fully completed, but many members of the local elite, along with some of their skills and resources, seem to have been incorporated into the fabric of the palatial economy. It is unclear how this was accomplished, but I suggest that it is likely that these individuals were not simply coerced by force, since there is evidence that palatial responsibilities could have been profitable to them, materially and symbolically. From the perspective of the palace, the activities of named individuals were important administratively, since it was no doubt convenient to simply assign important tasks to those capable of performing them. In effect, the palace "contracted out" certain duties to named individuals. Many of these activities were central to the functioning of the palatial economy, like animal husbandry and metalwork. Both these activities involved relatively simple but high-value inputs (animals and metal), and their operation was spatially extensive and decentralized. Allocating them to individuals known to the palatial officials was an elegant way for the palace to manage production in an administratively simple arrangement.

Prosopography allows us to explore in greater detail the activities of these individuals insofar as they relate to the palace, which in turn has the potential to make a significant contribution to our understanding of Mycenaean society. This is not exactly a model built from the ground up in social terms—after all, most individuals in the Pylian kingdom will have always been textually invisible, even if the full range of documents written by palace scribes were preserved—but it is in terms of our documentary evidence. Indeed, previous studies focused most of their attention on the high officials of the palace, and how they fit into the administrative structure, with less attention paid to the relationship between the palace and the less

115 Shelmerdine 2011.

116 On the mortuary evidence, see Voutsaki 1998; Boyd 2002; Bennet and Galanakis 2005. On the expansion of the Pylian state, see Bennet 1995, 1999, 2007b; Shelmerdine 2001.

well-understood "lower classes." The archaeological record suggests, however, that the achievements of the Mycenaean palatial age were made possible in large part through the participation of a broad elite group who were consumers and producers of palatial material culture.[117] These individuals could not be empirically investigated in the Linear B texts until now. I argue in Chapter Five on the basis of my prosopographical identifications in Chapters Three and Four that the named individuals from the Pylian texts should be located in this broad elite class. The activities and social status of these individuals as attested in the texts seem to be quite heterogeneous, and range from important agents of the palace to laborers. A model of Mycenaean society enriched by this analysis is therefore much more broadly based than previous models that focused on the palatial elite. It is also more flexible; I argue that it is better to think of individuals as located not at fixed ranks within a hierarchy but along a continuum of palatial standing and involvement. These individuals are associated with a patchwork of roles and statuses, some visible to the state and some not. Generally speaking, individuals who appear very often in the tablets (indicating significant participation in palatial activities) tend to be involved in activities deemed important by the palace, suggesting considerable standing within this institutional framework. I argue below that it is also the case that such individuals seem to play important roles in non-palatial institutions and local communities, suggesting that their palatial connections were only part of the sum total of their activities and resources.

The prosopographical work of Chapters Three and Four, itself made possible by the methodological considerations of Chapter Two, therefore makes available a new source of information available to us that necessitates adjustment of prevailing models about Mycenaean society. While previous work split society into two sectors, a small elite focused on the palace who ruled over the broad mass of non-palatial laborers, I suggest that the elite class was far more broadly based than this. This hardly makes Mycenaean Pylos egalitarian, of course, since only a select few of these named individuals appear in more than two tablet series at Pylos.[118] It does suggest however that the Mycenaean social order was not simply split into palatial "haves" and non-palatial "have-nots," but was a more complex patchwork of individuals with differential access to resources and various relationships to the palace. The palace in turn seems less of an agent in its own right that

[117] Wright 2004, 2008; Dickinson 2006, p. 39; Bennet 2008.

[118] A tablet series is a grouping of texts according to topic, format, and scribal hand. See Chadwick 1958, 1968.

bends Mycenaean society to its will, and more of a framework for an array of socioeconomic interactions between individuals and social groups.

CHAPTER TWO

# FROM PROPER NAMES TO PEOPLE PROPER

There are no universals in the methods of prosopography, even in fields where large numbers of records are stored and analyzed digitally.[1] Rather, the criteria by which data are judged differ from context to context, depending on the types of documents from which information is culled, as well as their chronological and geographical range. In many cases, prosopographies are compiled from documents of different types, findspots, and chronology. Grainger's prosopographical study of Aitolia, for example, includes documents of different types from several different cities in central Greece, and covers a span of nearly two centuries.[2] By contrast, the Pylian documentation is distinctively uniform in terms of its findspot, chronology, and purpose. Consequently the methods used to analyze these data must necessarily also be distinctive. Accordingly I begin this chapter with a description of the nature of the documents at Pylos; I then discuss previous prosopographical approaches before laying out my own methodology in detail.

Prosopographies typically focus on identifying two main types of relationships, what I will call the individual and the familial. The first relationship involves the identification of individuals from textual data. That is, is the person identified as, say, *e-ko-to* (*Hektōr*, cf. Ἕκτωρ) in document A the same person as the *e-ko-to* from document B? The second relationship, the familial, attempts to understand kin relationships between documented individuals; in some cases, detailed genograms (family trees) may be constructed. Because of the extremely shallow timeframe presented by the Pylian documentation, as well as the paucity of references to kin relationships, familial relationships are only occasionally visible, and the small sample size makes it difficult to draw many historical generalizations about the impact of kin relations. Consequently this discussion focuses on the difficult issue of how to make prosopographical identifications of individuals in this idiosyncratic data set.

1 Winchester 1992, p. 150.
2 Grainger 2000.

## 2.1. The Nature of the Pylian Documentation

There are just over 1,000 preserved texts at Pylos written by about 32 distinct scribal hands.[3] It seems likely that the individuals who wrote the tablets were primarily the intended audience as well. To all appearances Mycenaean literacy was extremely restricted; the number of attested hands is small, and the texts all relate directly to economic transactions immediately under palatial purview.[4] The Linear B tablets can also be laconic to such an extent that they seem unlikely to have been intended for a very wide audience. The texts were, moreover, temporary documents that were kept for a year at most. Time references in the tablets suggest when the palace was destroyed and the tablets were fired by the attendant conflagration, less than half of the year had elapsed.[5] Not only are very few documents from previous years preserved, but it is also clear that many documents were scrapped once they no longer served their purpose; while taxation documents seem to have been kept for a year or more, more *ad hoc* records would have had much shorter life spans. The destruction event that preserved the texts for us would have preserved only a portion of the total number of texts in circulation (Figure 2.1). This also creates a bias in that certain types of documents have a better "survival rate" than others.

Much of this situation is unique to Pylos. The Pylian corpus is distinctive for its chronological unity and its administrative centralization.[6] Knossos, Mycenae, and Thebes—the sites which, along with Pylos, have yielded the most Linear B texts—all preserve tablets from multiple chronologically separate destructions.[7] Only at Pylos has a central Archives Complex certainly been unearthed; at the other sites, it seems that tablets were written and stored in a number of different deposits (representing administrative departments) spread across the palace and, at Mycenae, in the surrounding town.[8] The "centripetal focus" of the Archives Complex is reflected by the fact that over 80% of the Pylos tablets were found there.[9] There are also fewer scribes at Pylos compared to Knossos (32 scribal hands at Pylos compared to 66 at Knossos), and Pylian scribes are less specialized than their

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3 Olivier 1984; Palaima 1988.

4 Palaima 1987; Pluta 2011.

5 Only three- to five-month names are preserved; Palaima 1995b, pp. 629–631.

6 Palaima 1988, pp. 180–181, 187–188; 2003a; Shelmerdine 1999, pp. 563–573.

7 Driessen 2008.

8 Olivier 1967, pp. 101–136; 1984; Palaima 1988, p. 177. Driessen 1999 argues that the North Entrance Passage represents an archive equivalent to the Pylian Archives Complex.

9 Palaima 1988, p. 172.

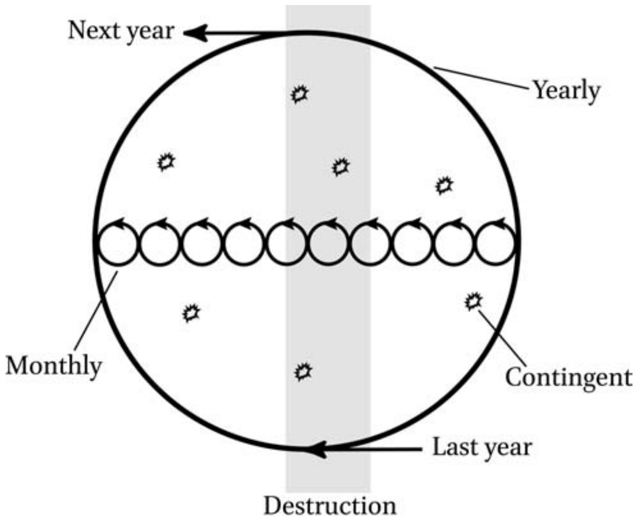


*Figure* 2.1: Cycles of Mycenaean administration, redrawn after Bennet 2001, p. 30, fig. 1. Drawing D. Nakassis.

Knossian counterparts. Pylian texts also tend to be relatively long; the Pylos tablets average 27.8 signs per text, compared to 7.7 signs per text at Knossos. Thus, although Knossos has three times more tablets preserved than Pylos, there are slightly more total signs in the Pylian corpus (see Table 2.1). This difference is in part due to preservation, but also to format. About 15 % of the texts at Pylos are of the longer page-shaped variety, compared to about 5 % at Knossos.[10] Many page-shaped tablets are higher-order administrative documents composed by combining information from smaller leaf-shaped tablets; for example, page-shaped Ep tablets recapitulate data from multiple leaf-shaped Eb tablets.[11] The higher proportion of page-shaped documents therefore also points to greater administrative centralization at Pylos, with shorter documents written by lower-level scribes and being checked or recomposed by higher-level administrators; these higher-level administrative texts were then stored in the Archives Complex.[12]

10 Olivier 1984, p. 13.

11 The usual view is that the Ep tablets were written later (e.g., Bennett 1956a, pp. 107–109; 1983, p. 41; Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 240; 1973, pp. 446–447; Palaima 1988, pp. 37–39, 99–101), but it is not unanimous (Carpenter 1984).

12 An excellent example is provided by Palaima 2000a, pp. 269–271. See too Driessen 1999, pp. 206–209.

*Table* 2.1: Quantitative data on Linear B tablets and signs[13]

| Site | Number of tablets | Number of signs | Average number of signs per tablet |
|---|---|---|---|
| Knossos | 3,369 | 26,088 | 7.7 |
| Pylos | 1,026 | 28,500 | 27.8 |
| Thebes | 337 | 3,733 | 11.1 |
| Mycenae | 68 | 1,762 | 25.9 |
| Khania | 5 | 34 | 6.8 |

These differences are significant for prosopographical research. For many prosopographical studies, uncertainty about the contemporaneity of texts presents a major problem. If documents span several generations, then it can be very difficult, particularly in cultures with a limited number of personal names, to determine whether two instances of the same name refer to the same individual. Indeed, in those cases where the relative chronology of the texts is difficult, prosopographical research is undertaken precisely to provide a chronological indicator for undated documents.[14] At Knossos, Landenius Enegren has shown that the texts from the Room of the Chariot Tablets are prosopographically isolated from the other texts at Knossos in a statistically significant way, corroborating the argument advanced by Jan Driessen that the Room of the Chariot Tablets represents a chronologically distinct deposit.[15] Chronology is not an issue at Pylos, however, since with a handful of exceptions all of the onomastic data date to a single horizon.

The administrative centralization of Pylos also impacts prosopographical studies. Because Pylian documents have a large number of words by Mycenaean standards, relationships between names are more easily discerned. This is especially true because in many cases the order of names in Pylian documents is not arbitrary. Joanna Smith showed on the basis of scribal era-

[13] The figures for Knossos are based on Olivier 1984, p. 13, who also provides the total number of signs at Pylos. The number of Pylian tablets has changed since Olivier's article, thanks to new joins that have been made by José Melena (1995a, 1995b, 1997a, 1997b, 1998a, 1998b, 2002a, 2002b; Bennett et al. in prep.); the count here reflects Melena's work. The figures for Thebes were calculated on the basis of Aravantinos et al. 2005, and Khania on the basis of Hallager et al. 1990, 1992. The figures for Mycenae were based on Melena and Olivier 1991, supplemented by Shelton 2006.

[14] E.g., Bongenaar 1997, p. 4 (the neo-Babylonian Ebabbar temple at Sippar); Landenius Enegren 2008, p. 14 (Mycenaean Knossos).

[15] Driessen 1990, 1999, 2000; Landenius Enegren 2008.

sures that the order of the names was sometimes significant.[16] On Jn 605.2, the scribe (Hand 2) initially wrote the names *e-do-mo-ne-u* and *mi-ka-ri-jo*; he then erased them and wrote *to-ri-jo* first, followed by *e-do-mo-ne-u* and *mi-ka-ri-jo*. This document records the disbursement of metal from the palace to individual smiths, and there is no apparent organization to the text that would necessitate that these names appear in a specific order. There must be some other external force operating to influence the order of the entries in Jn 605.[17] As we will see below, there are good reasons to believe that names of individuals with social or economic interrelationships tend to cluster when they appear together on the same text. These clusters of names are useful indicators in many cases for prosopographical identifications.[18] So the large proportion at Pylos of page-shaped tablets with multiple entries is extremely useful for recognizing clusters of names. In some cases, the order in which sets of leaf-shaped tablets were written can also be reconstructed.[19] Generally speaking, however, page-shaped tablets provide the best evidence for onomastic clustering.[20]

## 2.2. Naming the Pylians

There are 700 complete words certainly identified as personal names from Pylos; another 264 words are fragmentary, not certainly identified as personal names, or are adjectives of some kind (primarily patronymics) that are formed from personal names (Table 2.2). There are 1,683 total attestations of these 964 lexical items. How many individuals these names represent depends on a variety of factors.[21] Although I consider the figure of 875 most

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16 Smith 1995, pp. 189, 194.

17 Smith's (1995, p. 209) suggestion that the erasures in the header of Jn 829 (a taxation document) reflect the same underlying cause for the erasures on Jn 389 and 605 (allocation documents) is unlikely, however, since the terms erased and rewritten in Jn 829 are part of a carefully composed syntactical construction in which the order of the terms changes the meaning of the header, as Palaima (2001) has shown, whereas the erased entries in Jn 389 and 605 are items in a list.

18 It may even be the case that the order of names was a kind of mnemonic device motivated by the need of scribes to identify particular individuals by their names. The order of elements is commonly used in mnemonic techniques (cf. Cic. *De or.* 2.351–355).

19 Palaima 1996 on the Sh series; Palaima 2000b, p. 237, on the order of the Ta series.

20 But the clustering of names within and between specialized scribal hands does provide some measure of contextual control at Knossos, as Landenius Enegren 2008 has shown. Scribal attribution plays a much smaller role in prosopographical identification at Pylos than it does at Knossos, because the scribes at Pylos are less specialized than their Knossian counterparts and deal with a wider variety of types of documents.

21 Uncertainty is introduced not only by issues of prosopographical identification, but

probable, the population of named individuals in the Pylos texts could range from a minimum of 742 to a maximum of 1,115. Undoubtedly the actual number of named individuals recorded by palatial scribes in a given year would have been greater than either of these figures. Nevertheless, even a conservative figure of 800 represents a significant number of individuals. It is estimated by most that the Pylian kingdom had a total population of about 50,000.[22] Hiller has calculated that at least 4,100 people, identified individually or as part of a group, appear in the preserved documents at Pylos.[23] The named individuals therefore provide evidence about somewhat less than 2% of the total population and 20% of the people tracked directly by the palatial administration. Since almost all of the names for which we have evidence are male, and were presumably adults, we can estimate that the named individuals from the tablets constituted about 6% of the adult male population.[24]

*Table* 2.2: Numbers of Pylian names, by preservation and certainty of identification as names

| | Certain | Probable | Possible | Doubtful | Other[25] | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Complete | 700 | 25 | 28 | 7 | 7 | 767 |
| Fragmentary | 105 | 58 | 31 | 3 | 0 | 197 |
| Total | 805 | 83 | 59 | 10 | 7 | 964 |

Personal names are identified in Mycenaean texts in the same way that they are identified in other epigraphical systems, by linguistic form and textual context.[26] The formulaic nature of most Mycenaean documents is useful in this regard, since it allows scholars to recognize (in particular types of texts) a "slot" where a personal name should be expected. Thus,

also by the inability to determine absolutely whether a lexical item is a personal name, and by fragmentary names and uncertain readings.

22 Carothers and McDonald 1979, pp. 434–436; Whitelaw 2001, p. 64.

23 Hiller 1988, p. 60.

24 Of the names whose gender can be ascertained with certainty, 750 are male, 48 are female. Adult males make up about one-quarter of the total population using any of the several model life tables applied to the ancient Greek world (Akrigg 2011, pp. 54–55). We may therefore estimate the adult male population of the Pylian kingdom at 12,500. If we use only certain male names (750), then these constitute 6.0% of the estimated adult male population. If we assume that the proportion of male to female names is more or less constant, and multiplied by the probable number of individuals attested in the Pylos tablets (875), then we have 6.6% of the estimated adult male population (822 adult males).

25 These are patronymics or adjectives derived from personal names (*a-da-ra-te-ja*).

26 Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 92; 1973, p. 404; García Ramón 2011, pp. 214–216.

general advances in the understanding of scribal practices have resulted in increasing certainty about the identification of personal names. While some uncertainties remain, the words whose status as names is not certain are small in number (60 non-fragmentary words) and these doubtful names tend to appear each one in a single text only, limiting any potential distorting effect they might lend to the prosopography as a whole.

Nevertheless, there are some inherent difficulties in the study of Mycenaean names. The nature of the Linear B script creates problems of homonymy, by which I mean that the same sign sequence in Linear B may correspond to words that would be spelled differently in alphabetic Greek. For example, the sign sequence *pa-si* can represent both the dative plural adjective πᾶ(ν)σι ("to all") and the third-person singular verb φησί ("s/he says"). The ambiguity in this particular instance would not trouble any scribe, since context would clearly distinguish between which of the two was meant. The fewer signs in the word, the more uncertainty tends to prevail. This problem may also affect personal names. For example, the name *a-ka-wo*, which appears in two Pylian texts, probably represents two distinct individuals (see Appendix s.v. *a-ka-wo*). These men might have the same name or two different names: because of the spelling rules of Linear B, *a-ka-wo* can plausibly be reconstructed as *Alkāwōn, Arkhāwōn*, or *Agāwōn*.[27]

On the other hand, heteronymy is also a problem; that is, the same name can be spelled in different ways by different scribes or even by the same scribe. For example, a prominent officeholder has a name that can be written *pe-re-qo-ta* or *qe-re-qo-ta*.[28] Hand 1, the "master scribe" of Pylos, even uses both spellings of this name in the same text (En 659.1–2, 5). Minor variations in naming have later literary parallels: for instance, Achilles' charioteer in the *Iliad* is called both Ἄλκιμος (*Il.* 19.392) and Ἀλκιμέδων (*Il.* 16.197), the former being the shortened form or hypocoristic of the latter.[29] Even more radically divergent spellings can be used to refer to the same individual. For example, 13 of the 17 names on Jn 658 (Hand 21) appear in exactly the same form on Jn 725 (Hand 2), and Smith has argued that the names from Jn 658 were copied onto Jn 725.[30] Of the four names from Jn 658 that do not appear

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27 Aura Jorro 1985, p. 35, s.v. *a-ka-wo*.

28 The spelling *pe-re-qo-ta* is explained by the regressive dissimilation of the labiovelar. This name, *Pēlek$^w$hontās*, is a compound of alphabetic τῆλε and -φόντας; the alphabetic equivalent of this name would be *Τηλεφόντας or *Πειλεφόντας. See Aura Jorro 1993, pp. 106–107, s.v. *pe-re-qo-ta*; but see Leukart 1994, pp. 52–53; Kölligan 2002.

29 Morpurgo Davies 2000, p. 17.

30 Smith 1995, pp. 204–205 n. 95. Both Jn 658 and Jn 725.1–10 relate to the same toponym (*e-ni-pa-te-we*).

on Jn 725, one (*pi-ro-ne-ta*) probably has no equivalent, but three recur on Jn 725 in slightly different forms: *ma-ka-wo* (Jn 658.3) corresponds to *ma-ka-ta* (Jn 725.4), *wa-ka-ta* (Jn 658.7) to *wa-tu-ta* (Jn 725.5), and *po-ru-e-ro* (Jn 658.9) to *o-ru-we-ro* (Jn 725.6).[31] The first of these pairs is explicable, since both names contain the same word (μάχη), to which are added different endings (*Makhāwōn* and Μαχατάς), but the other two are very difficult to explain.[32]

Thus, both homonymy and heteronymy are problems: two names that look identical need not be, and two names that look different may refer to a single individual. There is unfortunately no way to correct for these problems, nor to estimate the extent to which they operate. In terms of making prosopographical matches, these problems work in opposing directions; heteronymy frustrates our ability to match names to individuals and results in fewer matches than there ought to be, whereas homonymy may encourage false matches.

The potential distorting effect of homonymy is offset, however, by Mycenaean naming practices. The 700 complete and certain personal names from Pylos represent by my reckoning a maximum of 854 individuals, or 1.22 individuals per name.[33] On the basis of my prosopography, I estimate that there are probably 779 individuals sharing these names, which yields 1.11 individuals per name.[34] It therefore appears that at Pylos, there is virtually one name per individual. This is borne out through examination of the most popular name at Pylos, *du-ni-jo*. There are 11 instances of this name; I estimate that there are probably four men by that name at Pylos, with a maximum of seven.[35] The name *du-ni-jo*, the most popular name at Pylos, accounts for less than 1% of all named individuals. It is also one of only two names (the

31 Possibly all 17 names on Jn 658 recur on Jn 725 if Lejeune (1971, p. 186 n. 81) is correct that *pi-ro-ne-ta* on Jn 658.3 is the same individual as the son (*i-*65*) of *Wastikhoros* (*wa-ti-ko-ro-jo*) on Jn 725.8. This prosopographical identification is hypothetical, but has the advantage of explaining away the problem that only one of 17 entries from Jn 658 does not recur on Jn 725.

32 Lejeune 1971, pp. 192–193, p. 193 nn. 104–105; García Ramón 2006b, p. 836 n. 53.

33 Lindgren's (1973) conservative method yields 881 individuals from these 700 names, or 1.26 individuals per name.

34 As a point of comparison, Davies 1971 includes 499 complete names that belong to 768 individuals, yielding 1.54 individuals per name.

35 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, pp. 43–44, identifies six individuals by that name, although she wonders if three of them are identical (yielding a total of four *du-ni-jo*). It is unclear why this name is so popular, or even what it means, although the most probable is that it is *Dunios*, a shortened form of *Dunamenos* (Ruijgh 1967, p. 145 and n. 231). Related names may include *du-ne-u* (*Duneus*, TI Z 30), *du-ni* (*Dunis*, KN Dd 1201.B, 1271.B), and *du-ni-ja* (*Duniā*, KN Fh 341).

other being *ma-re-u*) that definitely belong to more than one individual. We know this from the tablet An 192 (Figure 2.2):

PY An 192

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| .1 | a-pi-$a_2$-ro | VIR 1 |
| .2 | a-e-ri-qo | VIR 1 |
| .3 | du-ni-jo , du-ma | VIR 1 |
| .4 | au-ke-wa | VIR 1 |
| .5 | du-ni-jo , a-no-ke-wa | VIR 1 |
| .6 | ko-ro-ṣụ-ka | VIR 1 |
| .7 | a-e-ri-qo-ta | VIR 1 |
| .8 | ka-ra-u-ro | VIR 1 |
| .9 | a-ta-wo | VIR 1 |
| .10 | ta-ra-to VIR 1 | ⟦ ⟧ |
| .11 | me-to-qe-u | VIR 1 |
| .12 | pe-re-qo-ta , pa-da-je-[u] | VIR 1 |
| .13 | a-no-ke-we , ke-ki | VIR 1 |
| .14 | a-ke-o , ka-wi-jo | VIR 1 |
| .15 | ku-du-ro | VIR 1 |
| .16 | qa-$ra_2$ | VIR 1 |

The same name, *du-ni-jo*, appears in lines 3 and 5. Since the document appears to be a simple list of names, the presence of two homonyms should indicate the existence of two different individuals with the same name. It is also striking that of the first 11 names, only the *du-ni-jo* entries are accompanied by supplemental modifiers, *du-ma* (line 3) and *a-no-ke-wa* (line 5). The former modifier is the name of a high-ranking office with regional authority (sometimes translated "supervisor"), the latter is of unknown meaning.[36] It seems clear in any case that the scribe included this extra information to distinguish between the two homonymous men.

This is the only clear example of a scribe including additional information to distinguish between two individuals of the same name. Generally speaking, official titles serve to specify an individual's role rather than to differentiate him or her from other individuals. In the E- series of landholding texts, for instance, official titles are consistently listed, but they indicate

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36 The office of *du-ma* (plural *du-ma-te*) is a regional official of high rank; individual *du-ma-te* appear at Pylos on An 192, Jo 438, and On 300 alongside *korētēres* and *dāmokoroi* (at Knossos, the term appears on two tablets [C 1030, C 1039], listed against a single pig). On contexts in which *du-ma* appears, see Olivier 1960, pp. 37–47. The office is occasionally spelled *da-ma-te* (plural), so it seems to be connected with Greek δάμαρ ("wife") perhaps from the root *dem-*, "house" (Chantraine 1999, p. 250, s.v. δάμαρ; Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 195–196, s.v. *du-ma*, with bibliography). On *a-no-ke-wa*, see Aura Jorro 1985, p. 68, s.v. *a-no-ke-wa*.

*Figure* 2.2: PY An 192. H. 20.5, W. 11.3, Th. 2.1 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati.

the reason for which these individuals hold land.[37] Thus *Erithā* (*e-ri-ta*) is designated as the priestess on Ep 704 not to differentiate her from another (hypothetical) woman named *Erithā*, but to specify why she holds the land and on what conditions.[38] Official titles are rare in the Cn or Jn texts, despite the fact that 430 names appear on these two series. In the Jn series, official titles do appear, especially *g*ʷ*asileus* (*qa-si-re-u*), but this title indicates the role of the individual in this particular administrative context.[39] There is consequently very little evidence that titles were used by Mycenaean scribes to distinguish among individuals. Patronymics are likewise used sparingly, and appear only in a handful of select contexts, especially those relating to the *hek*ʷ*etai*. Since the *hek*ʷ*etai* were certainly well-known to palatial administrators, it seems clear that their patronymics do not function to differentiate between individuals.[40]

It therefore seems that the extremely large number of names relative to individuals allowed scribes to identify individuals by personal name in most documents, using administrative context and personal knowledge to distinguish homonymous individuals from each other. The administrative context of most of the Pylos texts is accessible to some extent through detailed studies of documents over the past half century of Mycenaean studies. Although the personal knowledge of scribes is no longer accessible to us, it does seem that the clustering of personal names betrays some connections between individuals known to scribes. There is therefore reason to believe that we can establish some of the prosopographical links in the tablets and determine with varying degrees of certainty the identities of named Pylians.

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37 In the landholding documents, each name is associated with a single office. In two cases, the slot normally occupied by an official title is replaced with a phrase explaining the reason for which the individual holds land. A man named *o-pe-te-re-u* (or *o-pe-to-re-u*) holds a plot "having been compensated" (*qe-ja-me-no*, Eb 294.1/Ep 704.1) and another "because of manslaughter" (*e-ne-ka a-no-qa-si-ja*, Ea 805); a man named *ke-re-te-u* holds a large plot of land "for the horse" (*e-ne-ka i-qo-jo*, Ea 59).

38 Indeed, on other landholding texts, *Erithā* is not identified by name, but is simply called the priestess (*i-je-re-ja*, Eb 297.1) or the priestess at *Sphagiānes* (*i-je-re-ja, pa-ki-ja-na*, Eb 339, Eo 224.8).

39 As it turns out it is unclear what the *g*ʷ*asilēwes* do in the Jn series; most scholars argue that they supervise the allocation of metal. See Smith 1995, p. 182 n. 41 with bibliography.

40 The most common explanation for patronymics is that they are honorific; see Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 121; 1973, p. 429; Palmer 1963, p. 152; Wundsam 1968, p. 127; Hiller 1989, p. 63.

## 2.3. Previous Approaches

Early studies of the Linear B tablets were skeptical of attempts to identify multiple instances of the same name with a single individual. In most cases, they preferred to view them as homonyms. Ventris and Chadwick point out two problems associated with prosopographical identifications, and their concerns are echoed by Michel Lejeune.[41] First, the commonness of recurring names suggests that these names may simply be the most popular, as can be the case in historical Greek prosopographies, in which certain names are fairly common (such as Διονύσιος, Δημήτριος, and Ἀπολλώνιος). Second, many homonyms at Pylos are associated with different toponyms, suggesting that different individuals are indicated. Margareta Lindgren's *People of Pylos* likewise adopted a consciously and explicitly conservative attitude toward equating names with individuals.[42]

Early studies had good reasons for caution, although some of their basic assumptions are questionable. It is striking that although these scholars rejected most prosopographical identifications, there were exceptions to their skepticism. These exceptions are conspicuous for their high standing within the palatial hierarchy: for example, the individual named *a-ko-so-ta* is declared by Ventris and Chadwick to be "an important man at Pylos," "possibly one of the chief stewards of the palace."[43] No argument is needed to suggest that the same man is meant in each case, despite the fact that he appears in 15 different texts at Pylos and is associated with 16 different toponyms.[44] Chadwick argued vigorously that the individual named *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* was the Pylian *wanax*, and Lindgren suggested that **we-da-ne-u* was the name of the Pylian *lāwāgetās*.[45] Thus, Chadwick and Lindgren were willing to accept prosopographical identifications for individuals of high status, even when they occupy multiple administrative roles or are active at multiple locales; indeed, their managerial and geographical range is seen as a confirmation of their high status. Other named individuals, however, are assumed to fill only a single role at a single location, and it is usually the case that these are considered to be lower-status individuals, such as smiths and

41 Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 352; Lejeune 1971, pp. 187–188.

42 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 14.

43 Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 181 and 268 respectively; cf. pp. 136, 230; Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 530.

44 Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 184–185.

45 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 454; Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 135–136, 186–187; Chadwick 1975.

herders.[46] This is a problematic assumption, as Lindgren noted, for it may be that many professional designations were not exclusive of other positions.[47] Certainly in Archaic and Classical Greece, it was fairly common for an individual of means to perform a variety of administrative and economic roles.[48] It may also be hazardous to assume that all individuals of a given type, such as smiths and shepherds, are uniformly low-status.

We have seen that Mycenaean scholars have been willing to believe that a name that recurred many times in positions of authority indicates a single individual of elevated status (e.g., *a-ko-so-ta*) but are generally skeptical of prosopographical identifications of names associated with activities that were presumed to be low-status, such as craft production or animal herding. This approach replicates the two-tier hierarchy of Mycenaean society discussed in Chapter One. Members of the elite have multiple responsibilities at different locations, whereas nonelite individuals have one (or at most two) responsibilities at a single location. In terms of prosopography, this means that there are two sets of criteria: one for palatial insiders and another for presumed lower-status workers. The problem is not so much the association of high status with mobility and textual visibility, but rather its application. That is, it is hazardous to assume that we know the status of individuals based on a single textual occurrence and then to apply a prosopographical method on that basis.

The assumption that a single individual, even a menial laborer, should only be associated with one toponym also presents difficulties. There seem to be more place-names in the Pylos texts (ca. 250) than discrete communities identifiable in the archaeological record (ca. 150).[49] About two-thirds of

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46 Ventris and Chadwick 1956, pp. 122–123 consider smiths and herders "humbler members of the population." But see too Olivier 1988, p. 221.

47 Lindgren 1979.

48 Kallias (II), son of Hipponikos, for instance, was *dadouchos* when he fought at Marathon, ambassador to Susa and Sparta, with landholdings at Alopeke and mines at Laureion, and his grandson Kallias (III) also held properties near Sounion, the Peiraios, and Melite (Davies 1971, pp. 258–261). Kallias (II) was one of the wealthiest Athenians of his time, of course, but this pattern also applies to individuals of more modest means, such as Euxitheos (Dem. 57; Davies 1971, pp. 93–95), who held multiple local offices (demarch of Halimous, phratriarch, and perhaps other offices), was selected to draw lots for a deme priesthood (of Herakles), had dedicated arms to Athena for which the deme passed an honorary decree, and had a small residence in the countryside, presumably in addition to another residence, perhaps outside of the deme (Osborne 1985, pp. 150–151). See further Osborne 1985, pp. 66–71, 83–87, 183–189.

49 Sainer 1976 catalogs 254 place-names in the texts. On the relationship to archaeological sites, see Bennet 1995, pp. 594–596; Whitelaw 2001, pp. 63–64; Hope Simpson 2007.

all known toponyms from the tablets are specialized in that they are associated with only one commodity.[50] Mabel Lang therefore suggested that some place-names may "refer to districts within towns or larger areas in which persons working in particular fields congregated and were referred to by a special name."[51] Depending on the administrative context, a scribe may have chosen to use a general or specialized toponym. Thus flocks of sheep are sometimes located at *pi-*82*, a general toponym, but at other times at specialized toponyms, such as *ma-ro* and *wi-ja-we-ra*$_2$.[52] Consequently an individual may be listed against multiple toponyms without having ranged widely, or indeed at all, on the ground. Moreover, there are certainly cases where we would expect an individual to appear away from his home, such as when performing military service.[53]

It is not uncommon to find names appearing in multiple texts at the same toponym. There are, for instance, 28 names that belong to landholders at *Sphagiānes* that are listed against multiple plots of land. Another 13 names are listed against multiple flocks of animals located at the same toponym. In five other cases, the same name appears in different textual series but at the same toponym.[54] Although there are 46 names that recur more than once at the same toponym, there are even more names (77) that are listed against more than one toponym. The fact that a single name appears at two different toponyms need not militate against prosopographical identification however, since it is possible for two toponyms to indicate different aspects of the same locale, as Mabel Lang pointed out, or to indicate two proximate locales. Unfortunately there are a large number of toponyms whose location is unknown or uncertain, so that of the 77 names listed against multiple different toponyms, in only 40 cases are the locations of at least two of the toponyms known. Of these 40 names, 14 are listed against toponyms that are proximate to each other. That is, they are associated with a single locale or belong to the same district. Thus, for example, the name *Aithalowens* (*a*$_3$*-ta-ro-we*) is listed against a flock at *ro-u-so* and another flock at *a-ka-na-jo*. The latter toponym seems to be located within the district of *ro-u-so*, so there is no reason to believe that these two flocks could not be the respon-

50 Lang 1988, p. 185.

51 Lang 1988, p. 186.

52 The men named *a-ka-ma-wo* and *ko-ru-no* both herd sheep at *pi-*82* and at *wi-ja-we-ra*$_2$. The man named *e-zo-wo* is similarly located at two specialized toponyms, both in the vicinity of *pi-*82*.

53 Lang 1988, pp. 192–193.

54 These names are *a*$_3$*-ki-e-u, e-ru-ta, ra, e-te-wa-jo, ka-ra-u-ko*, and *sa-ni-jo*.

sibility of a single herder.[55] In a small number of cases (seven), names are listed against toponyms that are reasonably proximate to each other: that is, the toponyms belong to adjacent locales or districts. For instance, the name *Atukhos* (*a-tu-ko*) belongs to a landholder at *Sphagiānes* and to a smith at *e-ni-pa-te-we*. Both these toponyms refer to places in the center of western Messenia: *Sphagiānes* is located immediately north of the palace, while *e-ni-pa-te-we* is probably located close to *a-ke-re-wa*.[56] In relative terms, then, only a single district (*a-pu*$_2$) separates the two locales at which *Atukhos* is listed.[57] It is more difficult to determine the spatial relationship of these toponyms in absolute terms. The site of *a-ke-re-wa* can probably be equated with the archaeological site of Koryfasio: Beylerbey, and *Sphagiānes* is probably to be located in the region of the modern village of Chora.[58] The distance between these sites is about 8.5 km as the crow flies, and just over 12 km along modern roads. This distance might seem great, but it is not insuperable, for in the 1960s and 1970s, Greek farmers were routinely willing to travel two hours on foot to distant landholdings.[59] In these cases, then, geography need not be an impediment to prosopographical identification. In the particular case of *Atukhos*, there are good contextual reasons to suggest that the same man is both a landholder and a smith.

In the remaining 19 cases, however, the distances involved are more significant.[60] Thus for instance *wa-na-ta-jo* is the name of a landholder at

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[55] All the herds on Cn 328 are apparently located at *a-ka-na-jo*. The header of this document reads *ro-u-so , we-re-ke*.

[56] The proximity of *e-ni-pa-te-we* to *a-ke-re-wa* is based on the fact that both appear on Jn 725. See further Sainer 1976, p. 37; Chadwick 1977, p. 226.

[57] On the geography of Pylos, see especially Bennet 1995, 1999, 2002.

[58] On the equation of Koryfasio: Beylerbey with *a-ke-re-wa*, see Carothers 1992, pp. 233–234; Bennet 1995, p. 594; 1999, p. 146; Davis et al. 1997, pp. 426–427; Shelmerdine 2001, p. 127. On the location of *Sphagiānes* near Chora: Volimidia, see Chadwick 1972, p. 109; Bennet 1999, p. 147; Lupack 2008a, p. 49.

[59] Wagstaff and Augustson 1982, p. 110, report that Melian farmers, when asked the time required to travel to their most distant landholding, gave replies ranging from five minutes to six hours, with a mean of two hours (about 10 km on foot). The results of their survey are comparable to those published by Clark 1988, pp. 58–59 (see too Forbes 2007, p. 180) and Thompson 1963, pp. 28–32, 204–206. Van Wersch 1972, p. 178, reports that in Messenia during the 1960s "the average travel distance between the farmer's home and his fields is about 1.3 kilometers, with often the same distance between the fields belonging to a given farmer." This is significantly less than the average of 2.2 km for the Peloponnese calculated by Thompson 1963, p. 32. For my purposes the travel time to the most distant landholding is the most relevant statistic, since it provides an estimate of how far individuals were willing to travel.

[60] I have excluded from this number the four Pylian "collectors," who are listed in conjunction with many herders at many toponyms, but in the genitive case.

*Sphagiānes* and of a smith at *ro-u-so*. In relative administrative terms, there are two intervening districts (*a-pu*$_2$ and *a-ke-re-wa*), and in absolute terms the distances are substantial.[61] If the modern Greek parallels are at all applicable, a four- to five-hour journey on foot between *Sphagiānes* and *ro-u-so* would not have been impossible, although it probably would have been unusual. In other cases the distances are even more extreme: *ke-ro-wo*, for instance, is the name of a herder in the northern Hither Province (*ma-ro*) and of a herdsman (*po-me*, cf. ποιμήν) in the Further Province (*a-si-ja-ti-ja*); travel on foot between these sites would have been long and difficult (perhaps 10 hours).[62]

In these cases, we might argue that the traditional approach is correct, and that unless there are overwhelming arguments to make a prosopographical identification, it is best to consider these homonymous individuals. This skepticism is healthy, although it needs to be put into a broader perspective. First, it is only a small number of cases in which we can conclusively show that geographical distance is an impediment to prosopographical identification. Of course this is partly due to our ignorance of the locations of many Pylian toponyms. Even so, when a single name is listed against two different toponyms, topography is not a problem just over half of the time: there are 21 instances where the toponyms are proximate, as compared to 19 instances where they are not. Second, although geographic separation argues against prosopographical identification, it need not exclude it, for the reasons discussed above. One of those reasons was that we might expect for military coast-guarding service to occur away from home, and in fact in six cases (of the 19 names located at distant toponyms), the extreme geographical distance between toponyms is due to the appearance of a name in the *o-ka* set.[63] More importantly, it is clear that high-status individuals in Mycenaean Messenia were in fact involved in widely dispersed activities, and in some cases, it is possible to make strong arguments for prosopographical identification despite geographic separation.

Another crucial issue for Mycenaean prospographical research is name popularity. In the past, recurring names among nonelite individuals were

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[61] If *ro-u-so* is in the vicinity of modern Koukounara (Bennet 1999, p. 147) then it is only 10 km as the crow flies but the terrain is difficult to traverse and a fairly direct route along modern roads would be nearly 18 km long. If *ro-u-so* is closer to modern Pylia, then the distance along modern roads is closer to 20 km.

[62] The site of *ma-ro* is probably in the region of Kyparissia; *a-si-ja-ti-ja* is perhaps in the general region of Mount Ithome (Carothers 1992, pp. 233–234) or further northeast (Nakassis 2006, p. 47).

[63] These are *du-wo-jo, ka-ke-u, ki-e-u, ko-ma-we, ma-re-u*, and *ro-u-ko*.

explained away as popular names.[64] The only means by which the popularity of a Mycenaean name can be evaluated, however, is the frequency with which it appears in Linear B texts from corpora outside of Pylos. This method is very crude, for it cannot account for regional naming preferences. Nevertheless, it does appear that there is some correlation between this measure of gauging popularity and the number of times a given name appears at Pylos. Names that appear at more than one Mycenaean site tend to appear in more documents at Pylos (Table 2.3) and conversely, names appearing in multiple Pylian tablet series are more likely than names in one Pylian series to appear in the documents of other Mycenaean centers (Table 2.4).

*Table* 2.3: Name popularity and frequency at Pylos

| Number of other sites where Pylian name appears | Total number of names (complete, certain) | Average number of tablets at Pylos | Average number of tablet series at Pylos |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | 550 | 1.59 | 1.32 |
| 1 or more | 150 | 1.86 | 1.57 |

*Table* 2.4: Name frequency and popularity at Pylos

| Number of tablet series in which Pylian name occurs | Number of names (complete, certain) | Number of names at non-Pylian sites | Percentage of names at non-Pylian sites |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 511 | 90 | 18% |
| 2 or more | 189 | 60 | 32% |

The question arises, therefore, as to whether the popularity of certain names explains the recurring names away, as previous scholars supposed. One important factor in explaining the correlation between intra- and inter-site popularity is the observation that names of the Mycenaean palatial elite tend to appear at multiple sites in positions of importance.[65] Since it is extremely unlikely, for reasons of geography and chronology, that the same individuals are meant, Killen and Olivier explain this pattern by hypothesizing that elite families in the Mycenaean world chose their names from a limited stock, a practice with historical parallels.[66] An analysis of the names

64 Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 352; Lejeune 1961, p. 427.
65 Killen 1979b, pp. 176–179; Olivier 2001.
66 Thornton 2002, p. 88.

of the Pylian elite bears this out. The personal names that appear on documents listing high palatial officials at Pylos tend to recur at other sites: one-quarter of the names on the Aq diptych, three-fifths of the names on An 192, half of the Pylian *hekʷetai*, and two of the three Pylian *korētēres* whose names we know. There is therefore good evidence to suggest that there is a general correlation between the popularity of a name and the palatial standing of the individual who holds it. There seems to have been a set of names shared by elite groups across the Mycenaean world; presumably these naming practices result from interaction among the elite of Mycenaean peer polities.[67]

Once again, therefore, we return to status. Those names which appear in many Pylian documents seem to be high-status palatial administrators. These same names tend to recur at other Mycenaean sites, where they belong to important officials. This suggests that the popularity of names is not randomly distributed; instead, status explains to a large degree the popularity of the names attested in our texts. It may be that recurring names at Pylos tend to be attested at other Mycenaean sites because they belong to the Pylian inner elite, which participates in Mycenaean elite naming practices. Because adminsitrators of high standing are more likely to appear in more than one document at Pylos, it seems difficult to argue that popularity can explain away the large number of recurring names.

If there are problems with past skepticism about prosopographical identification, then how can we proceed? The always heterodox Leonard Palmer, although skeptical of most identifications, argued that clusters of names appearing in a circumscribed administrative context and locale could suggest prosopographical identification.[68] This observation was applied more widely by Lang and de Fidio, who sought to use personal names to determine where obscure toponyms might be located.[69] They reasoned that if toponyms shared several personal names, the places they indicated were likely to be close to each other. De Fidio, for example, noticed that the names of several smiths recurred at the same pairs of toponyms (Table 2.5).

[67] These names are heterogeneous in terms of form and semantics—they include simple (*ko-ma-we*) and compound (*a-pi-me-de*) names that belong to the semantic spheres of the military (*pe-re-qo-no*), the agricultural (*a₃-ko-ta*), and the quotidian (*pe-ri-qo-ta*). A number of studies have addressed the semantics of Mycenaean names: most recently, Neumann 1995; Ilievski 1999; Palaima 1999; García Ramón 2011, pp. 224–229. On peer polity interaction, see Renfrew and Cherry 1986.

[68] Palmer 1963, p. 139.

[69] Lang 1988; de Fidio 1989.

*Table* 2.5: A cluster of toponyms and personal names at Pylos[70]

| Personal name | Toponym 1 (tablet) | Toponym 2 (tablet) |
|---|---|---|
| *e-u-po-ro-wo* | *po-wi-te-ja* (Jn 601) | *a-pu$_2$* (Jn 693) |
| *te-u-to* | *po-wi-te-ja* (Jn 601) | *a-pu$_2$* (Jn 693) |
| *pu$_2$-ti-ja* | *po-wi-te-ja* (Jn 601) | *a-pu$_2$* (Qa 1294, An 340) |

This pattern might suggest that the places indicated by *po-wi-te-ja* and *a-pu$_2$* were nearby, if these names referred to single individuals rather than homonyms. Both Lang and de Fidio ultimately concluded that the patterns were strong enough that not all potential prosopographical matches could be considered accidental. Although relatively limited in application to the study of toponyms, the studies of Lang and de Fidio made two important findings. First, the same individual can appear at different places; second, close study of administrative context has the potential to indicate the likelihood of a prosopographical match.

This principle has proven fruitful in Michael Lane's analysis of the *o-ka* tablets, which made use of graph theory.[71] Lane has shown that clusters of individual names can be tracked over several different types of documents. For example, a man named *ma-ra-te-u* is an officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) commanded by a man named *ne-da-wa-ta* and located at *o-wi-to-no*. One *a-e-ri-qo-ta* is a *hekʷetās* attached to this same military unit. Both names appear on the landholding text Aq 218, which is known to be intimately associated with the military *o-ka* texts.[72] Lane was also able to show, moreover, that these two individuals could be plausibly identified with men on An 209 and Cn 328 through links with the name *ra-mi-ni-jo* (see Table 2.6).[73] Once again, therefore, it seems that individuals may be active in multiple areas of activity—in this case, military, agricultural, and pastoral—located at different geographical locales.

70 Based on de Fidio 1989, p. 20.

71 Lane 2003.

72 Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 190–193.

73 Cn 328 is a list of herders and their enclosed flocks at the site of *ro-u-so*, An 209 a list of men described as Korinthian στατῆρες (*ta-te-re*), a term whose precise meaning is unclear, but may deal with animal husbandry, since it is probably related to the word *ta-to-mo* (σταθμός), which means sheepfold in the Cn series. Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 409; Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 141; Aura Jorro 1993, p. 320, s.v. *ta-te-re*, p. 321, s.v. *ta-to-mo*.

*Table* 2.6: A network analysis of names from An 657[74]

| An 657 | Aq 218 | An 209 | Cn 328 |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-e-ri-qo-ta* | *a-e-ri-qo-ta* | *a-e-ri-qo-ta* | |
| *ma-ra-te-u* | *ma-ra-te-u* | | *ma-ra-te-u* |
| | | *ra-mi-ni-jo* | *ra-mi-ni-jo* |

In sum, although earlier approaches rejected most prosopographical identifications, the basis for their skepticism is problematic. The assumed low status of named individuals who did not hold a named office or who were involved in productive activity, such as craft production and animal husbandry, has had a particularly strong effect. Despite this bias against laborers, it has become increasingly clear that some nonofficials do appear in multiple texts. The method used to argue for prosopographical identification is made possible by two factors: first, virtually all the Pylian tablets are highly concentrated with respect to chronology and function, and second, Mycenaean naming practices yield a large number of names relative to the number of individuals. To date there has been no attempt to develop these methods and apply them to all the names at Pylos.

## 2.4. Identifying the Pylians

In what follows, I describe and provide examples of my own methods for determining the likelihood of prosopographical identification at Pylos. The types of data included in Mycenaean documents are highly variable, such that an inflexible, rule-based approach is bound to exclude relevant data or include some arbitrary elements.[75] Fortunately the number of names is

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74 Based on Lane 2003, § 3.2.1.6.

75 An example of somewhat arbitrary elements is the study of Sutton (1970), who assumes that "any given individual can have only one profession," although he allows for a single individual to possess multiple labels of different types: one individual may have a professional designation and a "land tenure designation" or a designation of uncertain meaning (Sutton 1970, pp. 99–100). Sutton notes that he assumes this "perhaps unfairly." Thus, Sutton refuses to identify a smith (*ka-ke-u*) with a landholder designated as servant of the god (*te-o-jo do-e-ro*) on the basis that both are professional designations, although strangely he allows the possibility of prosopographical identification of a *te-o-jo do-e-ro* and a herder of the same name from the Cn series, since herders lack explicit professional designations (Sutton 1970, pp. 126–127). However, he accepts that one individual can be both a *te-re-ta* and a *ko-to-no-o-ko* (Sutton 1970, p. 106), as both titles are classed as "land tenure designations" (Sutton 1970, pp. 437, 451–452).

small enough that an automated approach is not necessary.[76] Each potential prosopographical identification is therefore discussed on its own merits in the prosopography (Appendix), in addition to the more general discussion in Chapters Three and Four. Because of the variability of the data, and therefore of the criteria used to argue for prosopographical identity, I will illustrate my methodology with four concrete examples.

Generally speaking, the types of information that suggest prosopographical identification can be divided into two types: lexical and contextual. Lexical indications consist of titles, patronymics, and ethnics that are occasionally employed by scribes. If the same name appears on multiple texts with the same (or similar) lexical indicators, then we may consider it likely that the same individual is meant. Contextual data, on the other hand, refer to nonlexical indicators of prosopographical identification. They may consist of clusters of names that regularly appear at the same toponym(s), in the same tablets, or even clustered together within a single tablet; factors such as the scribal hand may also play a role.[77] It is often the case that lexical and contextual data are used in conjunction to make an argument for prosopographical identification.

Absolute certainty in a prosopographical match is, of course, impossible, although in some cases we may achieve a level of certainty comparable to other inferences drawn from the Linear B texts that are regarded as facts. This procedure is, nevertheless, inherently probabilistic, especially given how patchy the data are, due to both the economy of scribal practice and the fragmentary state of the textual record. I have therefore placed all possible prosopographical matches into four categories of probability: certain, probable, possible, and tenuous.[78] Although a potential match can almost never be entirely excluded, in many cases there are no convincing reasons to believe that two instances of the same name represent the same individual. These matches are classed as "tenuous." Generally speaking, matches are classified as tenuous due to a lack of information, rather than positive evidence suggesting that two different individuals are meant.

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[76] This is not the case in other prosopographical studies, especially those of early modern Europe.

[77] This is particularly true at Knossos (Landenius Enegren 2008) but is less of a factor at Pylos, where scribes tend not to be specialized.

[78] The anonymous reviewer objects that identity is necessarily absolute; but these qualifications refer to the epistemic status of prosopographical identifications. That is, they indicate levels of confidence in my arguments for identifying particular individuals by means of my prosopographical method.

"Possible" matches are usually those in which only a single point of contact can be found between two instances of the same name; alternatively there may be multiple indications of identity but these are mitigated by some other source of uncertainty, such as variation in the spelling of the name in question. "Probable" matches typically have multiple independent indicators pointing toward identity, whereas "certain" matches have multiple indicators that are particularly strong. This means that the points of contact are specific; for example, it may involve a particularly rare title applied in multiple contexts to the same name.

My first example deals with an individual named *Komāwens* (*ko-ma-we*). This man appears on An 519, one of the *o-ka* texts that record the placement of watchers along the coast of Messenia (Figure 2.3):

PY An 519

.1 to-ro-o , o-ka , ro-o-wa ,
.2 ka-da-si-jo , mo-ro-qa , zo-wo ,
.3 ki-ri-ja-i-jo , wa-tu-wa-o-ko , mu-to-na
.4 o-ka-$ra_3$ , $a_2$-ra-tu-wa , VIR 110
.5 *vacat*
.6 ke-wo-no-jo , o-ka , ka-ḳẹ[
.7 tu-si-je-u , po-te-u ẹ-ṭạ-wo-ne-ụ[
.8 a-pi-te-wa , i-wa-so VIR 6̣ọ[
.9 *vacat*
.10 $a_2$-te-po , de-wi-jo , ko-ma-we ,
.11 o-*34-ta-qe , u-ru-pi-ja-jo ,
.12 o-ru-ma-si-ja-jo VIR 30
.13 *vacat*
.14 pi-ru-te , ku-re-we VIR 50
.15 me-ta-qe , pe-i , e-qe-ta , ro-u-ko
.16 ku-sa-me-ni-jo , [

The word immediately preceding *Komāwens*'s name, *de-wi-jo*, is probably a patronymic (son of a man named **de-wo*) of the familiar *-ios* type.[79] This same patronymic appears on line 10 of the text Aq 218, a record replete with patronymics and other indications of kinship (Figure 2.4):

[79] Aura Jorro 1985, p. 170, s.v. *de-wi-jo*. The suggestion that the name **de-wo* is derived from *der*(*w*)*ē*, Greek δειρή, "neck" (Ruijgh 1967, p. 159) should be rejected if the initial consonant of δειρή derives from a labiovelar, as it usually is (Chantraine 1999, p. 264, s.v. δερή). This etymology has been challenged by Beekes (2010, vol. 1, p. 317, s.v. δέρη), who associates it with δειράς, for which he suggests a pre-Greek origin (Beekes 2010, vol. 1, pp. 310–311, s.v. δειράς, -άδος).

*Figure* 2.3: PY An 519. H. 19.0, W. 9.1, Th. 1.5 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati.

*Figure* 2.4: PY Aq 218 *recto*. H. 21.5, W. 13.2, Th. 1.5 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati.

PY Aq 218 *recto*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| .1 | o-da-a$_2$ , a-na-ke-e , o-pe-ro-te[ | |
| .2 | ri-so-wa , i-je-re-u[ ] *vest.* [ | ]VIR 1 |
| .3 | ne-wo-ki-to , i-je[-re-]u , da-i-ja-ke-re-u | VIR 1 |
| .4 | ro-]u-ko , ku-sa-me-ni-jo , me-ta-pa | VIR 1 |
| .5 | a-e-ri-qo-ṭạ[ ]jo o-wi-to-no | VIR 1 |
| .6 | a$_3$-ko-ta , a-da-ra-ti-jo | VIR 1 |
| .7 | *vacat* | |
| .8 | *vacat* | |
| .9 | o-da-a$_2$ , e-ke-jo-to , a-ko-to-no | |
| .10 | pa-ku-ro$_2$ , de-wi-jo | *ZE* 1 |
| .11 | ]ka-re-u , e-ko-me-na-ta-o , *34-te | *ZE* 1 |
| .12 | ] , ke-ki-jo | *ZE* 1 |
| .13 | ]me-ta , po-ru-da-si-jo | *ZE* 1 |
| .14 | ]me-nu-a$_2$ | *ZE* 1 |
| .15 | ]ma-ra-te-u , a-pu-ka | *ẒẸ* 1 |
| .16 | qo-te-wo , i-*65 | *ZE* 1 |

In Aq 218, the word *de-wi-jo* must be a patronymic, since it appears after the personal name *Pakhullos* (*pa-ku-ro$_2$*), in the same position as four (perhaps five) other patronymics on this tablet.[80] Moreover, three of these patronymics and at least five personal names from Aq 218 appear in the *o-ka* texts.[81] This extensive onomastic overlap between Aq 218 and the *o-ka* texts suggests that we read *de-wi-jo* on An 519 as a patronymic. Normally patronymics appear after the name they modify, as in Aq 218, but in at least two instances, the patronymic appears first.[82] Thus, on An 519, *de-wi-jo* could modify *a$_2$-te-po* (which it follows) or *ko-ma-we* (which it precedes). The interpretation of *a$_2$-te-po* is problematic: it might be a place-name, personal name, or something else.[83] The syntax of this section of text would seem to exclude the possibility that *a$_2$-te-po* is a personal name.[84] Elsewhere in the *o-ka* texts, moreover, blank lines always introduce new sections of text that record either a new unit (*o-ka*) or groups of men (represented with the VIR ideogram) accompanied by a *hekʷetās*. It therefore seems unlikely that

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80 The parallel patronymics are *ku-sa-me-ni-jo* (line 4), perhaps *]jo* (line 5), *a-da-ra-ti-jo* (line 6), *ke-ki-jo* (line 12), and *po-ru-da-si-jo* (line 13).

81 The patronymics are *ke-ki-jo, a-da-ra-ti-jo, and ku-sa-me-ni-jo*; the personal names are *ro-u-ko, a-e-ri-qo-ta, a$_3$-ko-ta, e-ko-me-na-ta-o, ma-ra-te-u*, and perhaps *di-wi-je-u* (see Aura Jorro 1985, s.v. *di-wi-je-u*).

82 The two certain examples are *pe-re-qo-ni-jo a-re-i-jo* (An 656.6) and *ke-ki-jo a-e-ri-qo-ta* (An 657.11–12). Formally, *a-re-i-jo* could be a patronymic, but it is more plausibly interpreted as a theophoric: *Arehios/Arēios*, from Ares.

83 Aura Jorro 1985, s.v. *a$_2$-te-po*.

84 Ruijgh 1967, pp. 289–336; Mühlestein 1980, p. 1424.

*$a_2$-te-po* is a personal name, and it is preferable to associate *de-wi-jo* with *Komāwens*.[85] In this case, *Komāwens* and *Pakhullos* would be brothers, both sons of **de-wo*.

This interpretation is further supported by the fact that these names appear on the same text, PY Jn 750 (Figure 2.5), on adjacent lines (8–9):

PY Jn 750

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| .1 | a-si-ja-ti-ja , ka-ke-we , ta-ra-si-ja , e-ko-te | | | |
| .2 | pa-ra-ke-te-e-we , | | | |
| .3 | po-so-ro | AES M 1 N 2 | ro-wo | AES M 1 N 2 |
| .4 | a-ti-pa-mo | AES M 1 N 2 | e-u-ka-ro | AES M 1 N 2 |
| .5 | ma-ra-ta | AES M 1 N 2 | a-no-ta | AES M 1 N 2 |
| .6 | na-e-si-jo | AES M 1 N 2 | si-ra-ta | AES M 1 N 2 |
| .7 | ka-ra-u-ro | AES M 1 N 2 | ra-wo-qo-ta | AES M 1 N 2 |
| .8 | pa-ku-$ro_2$ | AES M 1 N 2 | ka-ke-u | AES M 1 N 2 |
| .9 | ko-ma-we | AES M 1 N 2 | e-u-we-to | AES M 1 N 2 |
| .10 | e-ke-i-ja-ta | AES M 1 N 2 | mo-re-u [ | AES |
| .11 | wo-wa-ro | AES M 1 N 2 | [ | |
| .12 | to-so-de , a-ta-ra-si-jo , du-wo-jo 1 di-ra-wo-no[ 1 | | | |
| .13 | e-u-we-to-ro , do-e-ro 1 e[ | | | |

This document records the allocation of metal (bronze or copper) to named individuals at the site of *a-si-ja-ti-ja*. Both *Komāwens* and *Pakhullos* receive a relatively modest amount of metal (about 1.5 kg), which they must return to the palatial authority in the form of finished products of some kind. Scribes write from left to right rather than vertically in columns, so on Jn 750, the names *Komāwens* and *Pakhullos* are separated by a single name, *Khalkeus* (Linear B *ka-ke-u*, Χαλκεύς). This is significant because Joanna Smith has shown that the order of the names in the Jn series is meaningful; scribes will erase names they have written in order to maintain a notional "correct order."[86] The close connection between *Komāwens* and *Pakhullos* would therefore seem to be significant. The intervening entry, *Khalkeus*, is probably an officer on An 519 attached to the same military unit as *Komāwens*.[87] The close interconnections between these names written consecutively by the scribe of Jn 750 (Hand 2) are unlikely to be the result of coincidence. It is highly likely that these names were placed together in the text because they

85 Mühlestein 1980, p. 1424, suggests that "l'aspiration initiale suggère un relatif écrit en proclise avec le verbe, comme dans *o-do-ke*, etc." and suggests *hā/hāi/hān steibon*, from Greek στείβω, "walk."

86 Smith 1995, pp. 189, 194.

87 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 60. On An 519.6, the name is only partially preserved as *ka-ḳẹ*[.

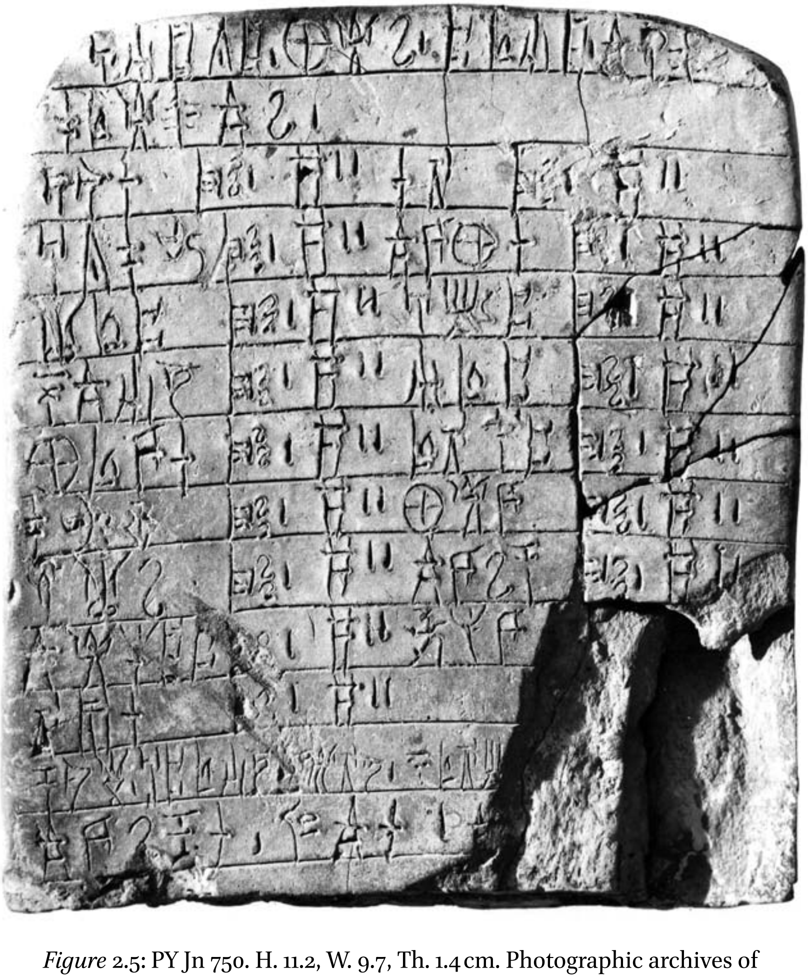

*Figure* 2.5: PY Jn 750. H. 11.2, W. 9.7, Th. 1.4 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati.

were considered associates of some type, and it is therefore certain that *Komāwens* (An 519) and his brother *Pakhullos* (Aq 218) are both smiths.

The case of the brothers *Komāwens* and *Pakhullos* provides an example of prosopographical matches whose certainty seems assured, but which had not been noted by previous generations of scholars.[88] It also illustrates some principles of the methodology adopted here. Although lexical information plays an important role in the prosopographical identification—the patronymic *de-wi-jo* crucially links *Komāwens* on An 519 to *Pakhullos* on Aq 218—contextual clues prove more important. The identification is made possible by the fact that the names of the brothers recur in close association with each other on Jn 750, with the intervening entry of *Khalkeus* providing more evidence of a link to the *o-ka* texts, which are themselves prosopographically tied to Aq 218, where *Pakhullos* appears. Both general and specific contextual clues play a role in the prosopographical identification. For instance, the fact that *Komāwens* and *Pakhullos* appear on consecutive lines, with *Khalkeus* between them, is a connection that is specific to those entries. The connection between *Komāwens* on An 519 and *Pakhullos* on Aq 218 is specific in that they share a patronymic, but general in the sense that many other names and patronymics on Aq 218 appear in the *o-ka* set of tablets, of which An 519 is a member.

This example also exposes the limitations of our evidence. Patronymics are exceedingly rare—only seven are preserved from Pylos—and they are exclusively associated with the *o-ka* texts and the Aq diptych.[89] Without the patronymic in this case, we would not be able to deduce the kin relation between *Komāwens* and *Pakhullos*. The prosopographical identification of *Komāwens* the military officer with the smith would have been suspected even without the patronymic, given the presence of other officers on Jn 750 (*Khalkeus*) and the close connection between the *o-ka* texts and

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[88] Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, pp. 69 (*ko-ma-we*), 88 (*pa-ku-ro₂*); Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 374–375, s.v. *ko-ma*-we; 1993, pp. 76–77, s.v. *pa-ku-ro₂*; Zagatti 1999, p. 50. The prosopographical identification of these brothers as smiths was reached independently by myself (Nakassis 2006, pp. 125–132; 2008, pp. 549–552) and Thompson (2006, pp. 233–234). See too the later study of Steele 2010, pp. 100–103.

[89] Of the seven patronymics at Pylos, six (*a-da-ra-ti-jo, de-wi-jo, e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo, ke-ki-jo, ku-sa-me-ni-jo, pe-re-qo-ni-jo*) appear in the *o-ka* set; the seventh (*po-ru-da-si-jo*) appears on Aq 218 only. Six of the seven also appear in the Aq diptych (the exception being *pe-re-qo-ni-jo*). The other method of indicating kinship in the Pylian texts is the formula "of so-and-so, the son." This is expressed in Linear B as a man's name in the genitive followed by the word *i-*65*, "son" (*i-ju*, *ἱύς, cf. υἱύς; see Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 292–293, s.v. *i-*65*). This formulation appears twice in the Aq diptych and once on Ae 344. Twice on the Jn texts (431, 725) at the end of a list of men's names a son is listed, presumably the son of the penultimate entry in the list (*i-*65-qe*, "and [his] son").

*Figure* 2.6: PY Cn 925. H. 4.2, W. 13.6, Th. 1.3 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati.

Aq 218, where *Pakhullos* appears, but the matches would have to be classed as probable rather than as certain. Thus, although the patronymic in this case clinches the identification, in almost all cases this type of information is simply not available to us.

The name *Komāwens* appears in yet another document, Cn 925, where it belongs to a herder of 16 male pigs (Figure 2.6):

PY Cn 925

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| .1 | da-we-u-pi , pa-ro , ko-ma-we-te | SUS$^{m}$ 16 |
| .2 | da-we-u-pi , pa-ro , e-te-we | SUS$^{f}$ 16 |
| .3 | da-we-u-pi , pa-ro , e-do-mo-ne-we | SUS$^{f}$ 28 |

There is no lexical information here that argues for or against identification with the military officer/smith of the same name. The case for prosopographical identification will therefore rest entirely on contextual clues. We can examine context at multiple scales, from the specific to the general. Given the small number of entries on Cn 925, the smallest unit of analysis is the text itself. The toponym *da-we-u-pi* is only found on one other text, Cn 485, but this tablet is very fragmentary and provides no useful further clues. Of the two other names recorded on Cn 925, **e-te-u* (dative *e-te-we*) is a singleton (i.e., it appears on this text only); *e-do-mo-ne-u* on the other hand appears twice in the Jn series as a smith (Jn 389, 605), and once in the En/Eo series as a landholder, where he is described as a servant of the god (*te-o-jo do-e-ro, theoio dohelos*). Although *ko-ma-we* and *e-do-mo-ne-u* do not appear on a Jn text together, it is striking that two of the three names on Cn 925 appear in the Jn series, although smiths' names constitute only 30 % of the total number of all attested Pylian names.[90]

90 Smiths' names make up 32 % of certain and complete names, and 28 % of all names.

We may expand the context somewhat to include all instances of individuals who are recorded herding pigs in the Cn tablets: of the 11 names, five recur in the Jn series as smiths, four are singletons, and only two appear on other texts but not in the Jn series.[91] For some reason, smiths' names are unusually represented among herders of pigs: five out of the seven recurring names of such herders belong to smiths. In the three cases of potential matches between smiths and herders of pigs outside of Cn 925 (*a-ko-to-wo, qe-ta-ko, *82-de*), additional contextual information clinches the prosopographical identification (see below, section 3.1.2).

At the broadest scale of analysis, we may observe that smiths' names are not only overrepresented among herders of pigs, but also among names of all types in the Cn series. By overrepresented, I mean that the percentage of onomastic overlap is significantly greater than what would be expected if names were distributed at random. Thirty names appear in both the Cn and Jn series, yet if names were distributed randomly, we would expect something in the neighborhood of 14–20 matches:

> 61 (recurring names of herders [Cn series]) × 0.3224 (proportion of smiths' names [Jn series]) = <u>19.67</u> matches
>
> 82 (recurring names of smiths [Jn series]) × 0.2197 (proportion of herders' names [Cn series]) = <u>18.02</u> matches
>
> 197 (all names at Pylos that recur in more than one tablet series) × 0.2197 (proportion of herders' names [Cn series]) × 0.3224 (proportion of smiths' names [Jn series]) = <u>13.95</u> matches

Thus, although names from the Jn series comprise less than one-third of all Pylian names, nearly half of the recurring names in the Cn series are the names of smiths from the Jn series.

We can consequently observe that all of the contextual evidence strongly points to the fact that *Komāwens* the military officer and smith is also a herder. The most general scale of analysis observes that smiths are overrepresented among herders (49% of recurring names); this pattern is even more pronounced among herders of pigs (71% of recurring names), and is the most pronounced at the level of the individual text: both of the recurring names on Cn 925 appear in the Jn series. These arguments are admittedly circumstantial, but their cumulative force makes it probable that the herders *ko-ma-we* and *e-do-mo-ne-u* are both also smiths.

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[91] The herders of pigs who recur as smiths are *a-ko-to-wo, e-do-mo-ne-u, ko-ma-we, qe-ta-ko,* and **82-de*; singleton herders of pigs are *a-ko-te-u, *e-te-u, po-ma-ko,* and *ti-ri-po-di-ko*; *e-zo-wo* and *po-te-u* are recurring names that do not appear in the Jn series.

What about the usual objections to prosopographical identification—toponym and name popularity—in the case of *Komāwens*? He is listed against three different toponyms: *ro-o-wa* on An 519, *a-si-ja-ti-ja* on Jn 750, and *da-we-u-pi* on Cn 925. The site of *ro-o-wa* is in the Hither Province in western Messenia, probably close to the palace, whereas *a-si-ja-ti-ja* is located in the Further Province to the east (see Figure 2.7).[92]

Nevertheless, on An 519 he is assigned to a military position as a coast-guard, which we might expect to be distinct from his hometown or main area of activity,[93] and on Cn 925 he is located at *da-we-u-pi*, whose location is unknown. It may well be, therefore, that *Komāwens* is predominantly active in and around *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, while his military assignment to the coast is not sensitive to his normal area of activity.

With regard to the popularity of the name *Komāwens*, the same name belongs to a "collector" at Knossos and probably at Thebes also. Indeed, it belongs to one of 12 "international collectors" recognized by Killen and Olivier, names that recur in positions of prominence at multiple Mycenaean sites.[94] It therefore conforms to the general pattern that names appearing at multiple sites tend to belong to high-status individuals (see above, section 2.3). Interestingly, it is commonly thought that *Komāwens* at Pylos is not a high-status individual, but three separate individuals of low- to middling-status. My prosopographical analysis, on the other hand, suggests that *Komāwens* probably refers to a single individual involved in multiple economic and administrative affairs on behalf of the palace, which suggests the possibility of a more elevated status (see below, section 5.3).

My second example concerns the landholding document Ep 301 (Figure 2.8), which provides another example of convincing prosopographical identifications based on a combination of lexical and contextual indicators. Three of the first four entries of this tablet are names that appear in the Jn series, where they belong to smiths (Table 2.7).

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92 Zangger 1998 equates *ro-o-wa* with the port of Pylos at modern Romanou; most previous authors located it on the north side of the Navarino Bay (Aura Jorro 1993, p. 261, s.v. *ro-o-wa*, with references).

93 Lang 1988, pp. 192–193.

94 Killen 1979b, pp. 176–179; Olivier 2001.

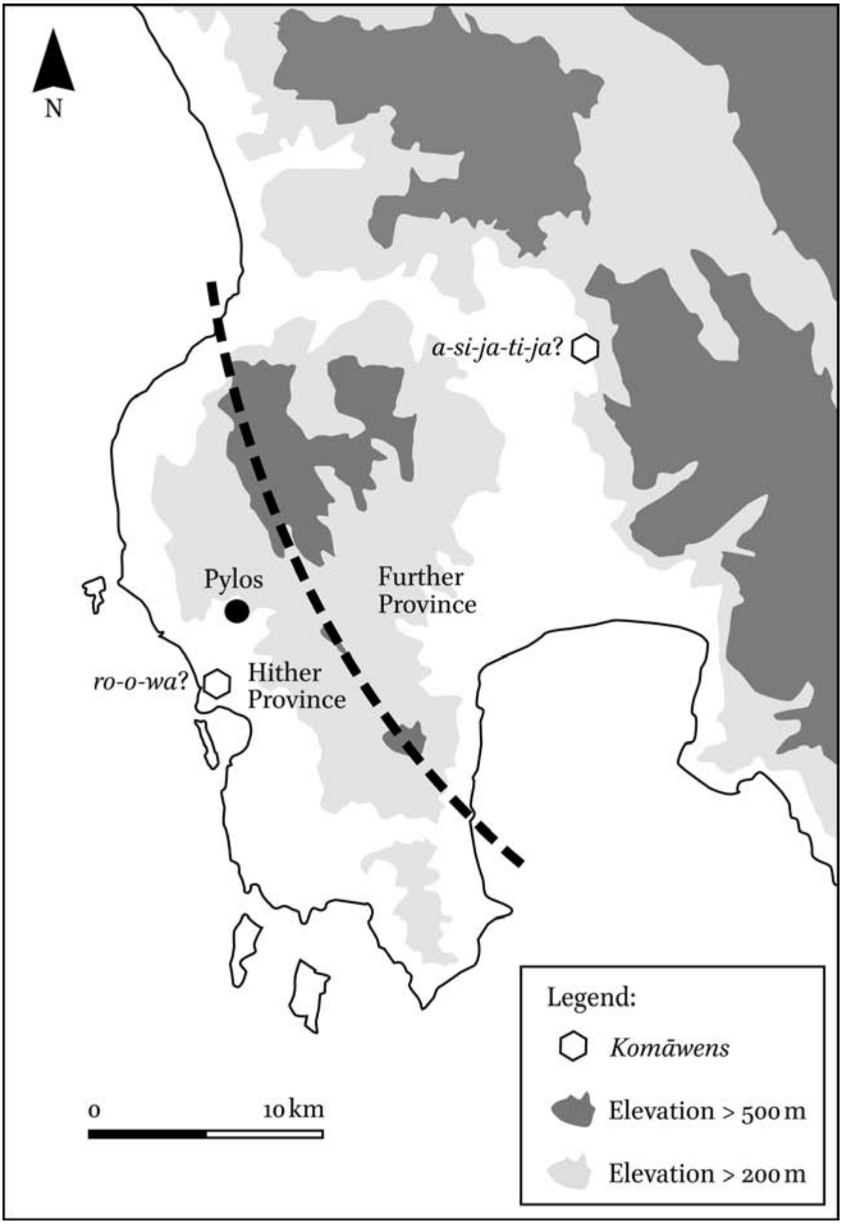


*Figure* 2.7: Known locations of the activities of *Komāwens* (*ko-ma-we*); locations are approximate. Drawing D. Nakassis.

*Figure* 2.8: PY Ep 301. H. 17.0, W. 14.8, Th. 1.3 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati.

*Table* 2.7: Names of landholders on Ep 301

| Line | Name | Jn text(s) |
|---|---|---|
| .2 | *a₃-ti-jo-qo* | |
| .3 | *wa-na-ta-jo* | Jn 832 |
| .4 | *a-da-ma-o* | Jn 832 |
| .5 | *a-tu-ko* | Jn 658, 725, 927 |
| .6 | *ta-ta-ro* | |
| .7 | | |
| .8 | *pị-ke-re-u* | |
| .9 | *ra-ku-ro* | |
| .10 | *ku-so* | |
| .11 | *ke-ra-u-jo* | |
| .12 | *pa-ra-ko* | |
| .13 | *ko-tu*[*-ro₂*] | Jn 431 |
| .14 | *a-i-qe-u* | |

Not only does there appear to be a clear clustering of smiths' names on Ep 301, which in and of itself is suggestive of prosopographical identification, but two of these individuals, *Warnataios* (*wa-na-ta-jo*) and *Adamaos* (*a-da-ma-o*), even appear on the same Jn text (Jn 832). The third potential match, an individual named *Atukhos* (*a-tu-ko*), is identified on Ep 301 as an armorer (*e-te-do-mo*, *entes-domos*), and this title accompanies *Atukhos* on the two other landholding texts on which he appears (En 609.5 = Eo 211.2), proving that we are dealing with the same man in all these tablets.[95] On one of these texts (En 609.5), it is further specified that *Atukhos* is the armorer of the king (*wa-na-ka-te-ro*, *wanakteros*).[96] It is hardly surprising then that we find a man by the same name receiving metal from the palace in the Jn series.[97] Contextual indicators therefore suggest that the landholders *Warnataios* and *Adamaos* are smiths, while both contextual and lexical indicators suggest that *Atukhos* the royal armorer is a smith. A further link between these men is provided by the fact that the land of *Atukhos* on Eo 211/En 609 is leased to him by *Warnataios*. In fact, both *Atukhos* and *Warnataios* share several characteristics: both appear only in landholding

95 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, pp. 34–35, vol. 2, p. 52. On *e-te-do-mo* as *entes-domos*, from ἔντεα and δέμω, see Palaima 1997, p. 407 and n. 2.

96 It is likely that Eb 903 corresponds to Ep 301.5 (Melena 1998a, p. 164); this would provide further evidence that *a-tu-ko* is the royal armorer, since the fragmentary string ]*ka-te-ro* can plausibly be restored as [*wa-na-*]*ka-te-ro*.

97 The separate issue of whether multiple instances of the same name in the Jn series represent one or more individuals is considered below in section 3.1.1.

*Figure* 2.9: PY Ua 158. H. 4.6, W. 12.0, Th. 2.0 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati.

(Eo/En, Eb/Ep series) and smithing (Jn series) contexts, turn up in the same cluster of names on Ep 301.3–5, and are directly linked to each other in a leasing arrangement recorded on Eo 211.2/En 609.5. This suggests that the cluster of names on Ep 301 is not an accident, but reflects the social and economic associations between individuals. I consider these prosopographical identifications certain due to the multiple links, lexical and contextual, that connect the homonymous landowners and smiths.

Thus far I have reviewed examples of certain and probable prosopographical identifications. Less secure prosopographical matches are classed as possible or tenuous. In these cases, there will only be a single link between instances of the same name, or multiple links which are however not particularly strong. An example of a possible match is provided by the name *ke-do-jo*, which appears in two tablets:

Ua 158

.1 ke-do-jo , o-na , e-qa-na-qe[
.2 **146* 20 GRA 7 ⟦ ⟧ *NI* 5̣[ ] ⟦ ⟧ [

Mb 1365

]ke-do-jo-no[ ]i-jo **146* 4 [

On Ua 158 (Figure 2.9), a man named *Kerdoiōn* (*ke-do-jo*) is listed against 20 textiles (**146*) and a large amount of grain (672 liters) and figs (at least 480 liters). The term *o-na*, plural of *o-no*, “payment,” shows that these goods are being allocated to *Kerdoiōn* from the palace, presumably for goods or

services rendered; the parallel term *e-qa-na* is unfortunately obscure.[98] Mb 1365, recently joined by Melena to Xa 1386, lists the son of *Kerdoiōn* as the recipient of four textiles ( **146*).[99] The fact that *Kerdoiōn* and his son are both recipients of the same commodity is suspicious, particularly since the latter is identified not by his own name, but by his father's. This would seem to imply that the allocation on Mb 1365 was made in respect to *Kerdoiōn*'s services or status, rather than his son's. No other contextual arguments for prosopographical identification can be made. Thus, it seems quite possible that a single individual is meant by the name *Kerdoiōn*, but since there is only a single point of connection between the two instances, the identification is classed as possible.[100]

Examples of the different grades of prosopographical identifications can be found in the text Vn 130, which records vessels (*a-ke-a*$_2$, cf. ἄγγεα) associated with named individuals at specified locations. The header's interpretation is not certain, but suggests that the individual named *Kessandros* (*ke-sa-do-ro*) is responsible for an activity, perhaps boiling, associated with these vessels.[101] The text reads as follows (Figure 2.10):

Vn 130

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| .1 | o-ze-to , ke-sa-do-ro , *34-to-pi , | |
| .a | pa-ro | |
| .2 | a-ke-a$_2$ , me-ta-pa , pe-ri-te | 1 |
| .3 | a-pi-no-e-wi-jo , pa-ro , e-ru-si-jo | 1 |
| .4 | a-pi-no-e-wi-jo , pa-ro , a$_3$-ki-e-we | 4 |
| .5 | e-na-po-ro , pa-ro , wa-do-me-no | 9 |
| .6 | sa-ri-no-te , pa-ro , o-wo-to | 5 |
| .7 | pa-ki-ja-si , pa-ro , a-ta-no-re | 4 |
| .8 | ka-ra-do-ro , pa-ro , to-ro-wo | 1 |
| .9 | pa-ki-ja-si , pa-ro , e-ri-we-ro | 3 |
| .10 | e-wi-te-wi-jo , pa-ro , wi-sa-to | 1 |

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98 On *o-no* and *o-na*, see Killen 1995a, pp. 217–224; on *e-qa-na*, Lejeune 1971, pp. 298, 309.

99 On the interpretation of this text, see Shelmerdine 2002, pp. 314–318; the join is reported in Melena 2002b, p. 378.

100 Shelmerdine 2002, p. 316, calls the prosopographical identification "an attractive possibility."

101 Palaima forthcoming. The first line of the header is problematic; *-ze-to* is presumably a verb (perhaps from ζέω, "boil"), whose subject is the man named *ke-sa-do-ro* and whose object are the vessels (*a-ke-a*$_2$). **34-to-pi* is an instrumental plural, perhaps of an agentive noun ending in *-tōr* or *-tēr* (Palmer 1963, p. 370; 1966, pp. 283–284), whose meaning is frustrated by the uncertainty about the value of sign **34*. Melena (2000, p. 15; forthcoming) suggests a value $^{?}$*ai* and interprets **34-to-pi* as *aithophi*, the instrumental plural of a noun αἶθος, meaning firelog.

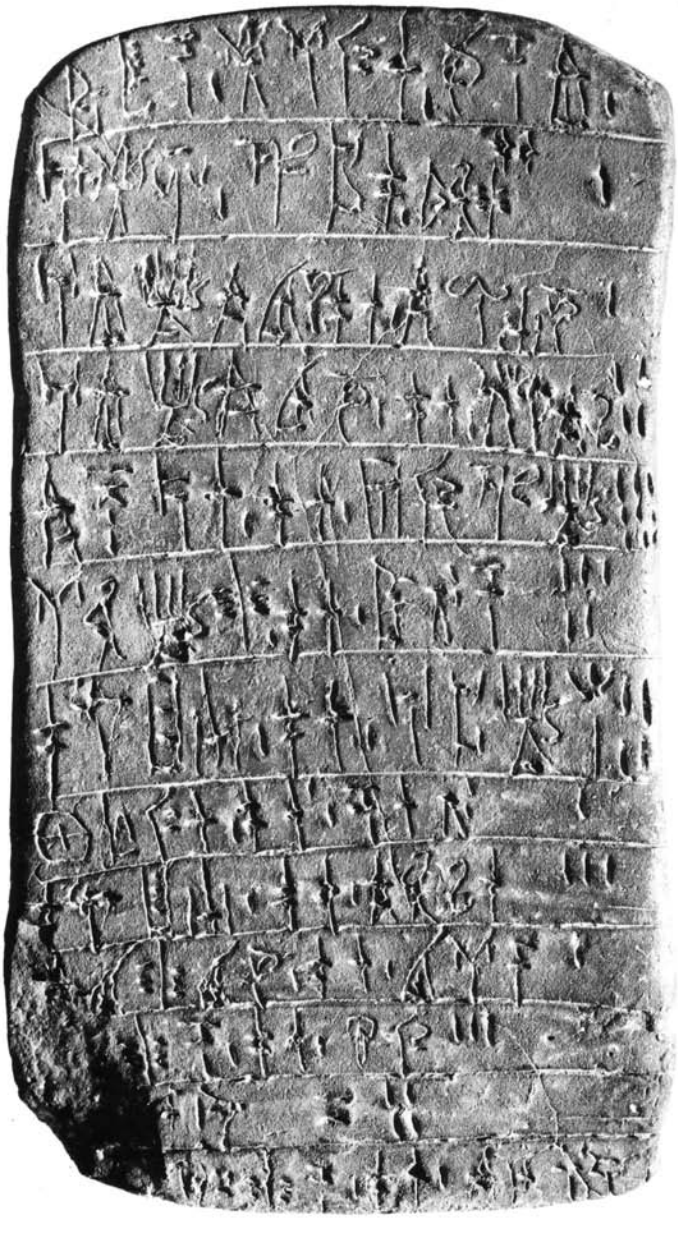

*Figure* 2.10: PY Vn 130. H. 15.9, W. 8.6, Th. 2.0 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati.

.11 ]ṃẹ-te-to , pa-ro , ko-do 3
.12 ro-]u-so 24
.13 me-te-to , pa-ro , e-u-qo-ne 3

Of the twelve personal names in this text, eight appear elsewhere at Pylos in a variety of different contexts (see Table 2.8). This heterogeneity would seem to militate against prosopographical identification, but Palmer noted that the names recurred consistently in craft contexts.[102] Three names from Vn 130 certainly appear in a craft context: _*a$_3$-ki-e-u_ (dative _a$_3$-ki-e-we_), a smith who has two servants on Jn 605, _o-wo-to_, a member of a _geronsiā_ (_ke-ro-si-ja_) on An 261, and _*a-ta-no_ (dative _a-ta-no-re_), the head of a _g_$^{w}$_asilēwiā_ (_qa-si-re-wi-ja_) on Fn 50. The first of these (_*a$_3$-ki-e-u_) is clearly involved in the production of metal objects in the Jn series.[103] He is, moreover, located at the same toponym in both Vn 130 and Jn 605 (_a-pi-no-e-wi-jo_), which is strongly suggestive of prosopographical identification. The men named _o-wo-to_ and _*a-ta-no_ are both members of groups that are involved in craft production: both the _geronsiā_ (_ke-ro-si-ja_, cf. γερουσία) and the _qa-si-re-wi-ja_ (_g_$^{w}$_asilēwiā_, cf. βασιλεία) are contextually closely linked to craft production, although their etymologies connect them with elders and chiefs, respectively.[104] I consider the prosopographical identification of _*a$_3$-ki-e-u_ with the smith certain, given the craft context and the toponymic overlap, and those of _o-wo-to_ and _*a-ta-no_ probable.[105] Another possible identification can be suggested for _e-ti-we-ro_ with the man on Un 1320, who is listed against three units of an unknown commodity indicated by the syllabogram (used ideographically) "_A_." The equal number of commodities in both cases—three vessels in Vn 130, three "_A_" on Un 1320—suggests that "_A_" might be an abbreviation for vessels (_a-ke-a$_2$_), or that there is another connection between the two objects.[106]

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102 Palmer 1963, p. 370; 1966, p. 283.

103 It is possible that he has produced the four vessels listed against him in Vn 130, as Killen has argued (2007a, p. 117).

104 Palmer 1963, pp. 227–229; Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 78–79; Killen 1987; Carlier 1995; Deger-Jalkotzy 2002, pp. 76–77, argues that a _ke-ro-si-ja_ is "a (governing) body consisting of 'senior,' that is to say the most distinguished members of a kin group, who were perhaps the representatives of descent groups."

105 Killen 2006a, pp. 81–82.

106 On syllabograms used ideographically as abbreviations, see Ventris and Chadwick 1956, pp. 48–53; 1973, p. 392; cf. Neumann 1962.

*Table* 2.8: Recurring names on Vn 130

| Name | | Other text(s) at Pylos |
|---|---|---|
| *a-ta-no* | Vn 130.7 | Fn 50.3 |
| *a₃-ki-e-u* | Vn 130.4 | Jn 605.10 |
| *e-ri-we-ro* | Vn 130.9 | Un 1320.7 |
| *ke-sa-do-ro* | Vn 130.1 | An 435.17 |
| *ko-do* | Vn 130.11 | Ea 71, Ea 754, Ea 803, Ea 824 |
| *o-wo-to* | Vn 130.6 | An 261.7 |
| *to-ro-wo* | Vn 130.8 | An 129.5 |
| *wi-sa-to* | Vn 130.10 | Cn 328.12 |

Prosopographical identifications involving the other names on Vn 130 are classed as tenuous. The man's name *Kessandros* (*ke-sa-do-ro*), for example, who appears in the header of Vn 130, is also probably allocated on An 435 by the "collector" *Alksoitās* (*a-ko-so-ta*) to the woman *Kessandrā* (*ke-sa-da-ra*).[107] The reading of the name *Kessandros* on An 435 is uncertain, however, and even if it were not, there is nothing connecting the two instances of the name except perhaps the very general context of labor. Similarly, the name *to-ro-wo* recurs on An 129, where it belongs to a man who is with (*pa-ro*) a man named *ti-ki-jo*; presumably a labor context is indicated, perhaps even a craft production context, but it is difficult to make any other connections between the two attestations of the name.[108] The last two recurring names are also tenuous prosopographical identifications. The name *wi-sa-to* also belongs to a shepherd of 60 ewes on Cn 328, and *ko-do* is the name of a landholder (or landholders) in the Ea series who is called a herdsman (*po-me*, ποίμην) on Ea 824 and Ea 825. The cluster on Vn 130.10–11 of two names that elsewhere relate to animal husbandry is suggestive of prosopographical identification, but this connection is relatively weak.

107 Both *ke-sa-do-ro* and *ke-sa-da-ra* are compounds of a common root and ἀνήρ, "man"; according to García Ramón 1992, this common root is the Indo-European **k̂ens*, "speak authoritatively."

108 Two lines below *to-ro-wo* appears the phrase "with the smiths" (*pa-ro , ka-ke-u-si*), which suggests a craft context for that section of the tablet, but not necessarily for the entire document.

## 2.5. Discussion and Conclusions

The examples discussed in the last section illustrate the range of methods whereby prosopographical identifications can be made at Pylos. Generally speaking, contextual considerations, especially the clustering of names, provide the chief arguments for matching names with individuals. These clusters can be recognized at different scales. As we have seen, there are good reasons to believe that the order of entries is significant, and reflect links of some kind between the individuals involved. These clusters at the subtextual level represent the smallest scale of contextual analysis. Names also cluster on tablets; two names may each appear on two texts, for example, but not in adjacent entries. At a larger scale still are clusters within administrative sets of documents, followed by clusters among documents that generally deal with the same economic or administrative field.[109] Naturally, the larger the scale of clustering, the less powerful the argument for prosopographical identification. On the one hand, the larger scale of these clusters means that the number of individuals involved is also greater. Consequently if it can be shown that the scale of overlap is more extensive than would be expected if names were distributed randomly, as above with respect to the overlap between the names in the Cn and Jn series, then these large-scale clusters constitute a powerful argument that some of the overlapping names represent prosopographical matches. As I demonstrated above with respect to the herder *Komāwens* on Cn 925, contextual arguments operating at multiple scales can make a strong case for prosopographical identification.

Lexical indicators, while important, can only rarely provide sufficient evidence for prosopographical identification on their own, except in the case where a rare title is consistently and exclusively associated with a personal name.[110] Since the motivation for writing official titles varies between textual series, however, this means that lexical indicators primarily function within a set of documents rather than between them. Thus, the individual named *Atukhos* (*a-tu-ko*) is consistently referred to as an armorer in landholding

[109] It is worth noting that the former (administrative sets) are for the most part very well-bounded entities (e.g., Bennett 1956b; Chadwick 1958, 1968; Palaima 2011, pp. 55–60), and many must have been emic categories (i.e., recognized as meaningful categories by Mycenaean administrators), whereas the latter (documents that generally deal with the same field) are less well-bounded, etic categories.

[110] For instance, the title *ke-u-po-da* (or *ke-po-da*) at Pylos is exclusively associated with the personal name *e-sa-re-u* (Na 395, 527, 568; *e-sa-re-u* appears on its own on Cn 1197). Killen (1995c) argues that *ke*(*-u*)*-po-da* is a personal name and *e-sa-re-u* the title.

documents (Eo 211.2, Ep 301.5), sometimes as the royal armorer (En 609.5, perhaps Eb 903). This lexical connection between these entries strongly suggests prosopographical identification, since the title of armorer is rare, and the title of royal armorer unique.[111] On the three Jn texts where the name *Atukhos* appears, this title is missing. However, the titles of named smiths are not recorded in the Jn series: for the scribe these men are collectively labeled as smiths (*ka-ke-we*, *khalkēwes*, cf. χαλκεῖς). Other titles or modifiers may be present, but again they are applied to the group as a whole, not to individuals as in landholding documents.[112] It seems likely that this difference in the application of titles has to do with administrative convenience: in landholding documents, titles serve to signal on what basis the individual has been allotted his plot of land, whereas this information simply does not apply to the Jn series, which records allotments of metal to be worked into finished goods. In the case of *Atukhos*, however, the lexical information does suggest prosopographical identification between the landholder and the smith, insofar as armorer and smith lie within the same semantic field of metallurgical production.

The examples discussed in this chapter also demonstrate that significant progress can be made in Mycenaean prosopography through careful attention to the contexts in which names recur. Naturally this exercise will always be probabilistic, since the amount of information carried by each record is quite small, and so too therefore is the amount of overlap (lexical and contextual) between two instances of a name. As a result, each positive prosopographical identification dramatically increases how much we know—or rather, claim to know—about each individual. The possibilities of certainty are consequently relatively low, but the potential gains are great. Seen in this light, the conservatism and skepticism of early scholarship was a reasonable and appropriate response to the limitations of the evidence, especially given the considerable difficulties involved in making prosopographical matches due to the variability in the quality of the data.[113]

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111 There is only one other armorer at Pylos, named *ka-ra-pi* (Ea 808); he may be the armorer of the *lāwāgetās* (Palmer 1963, p. 420; Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 52).

112 Groups of individual smiths are identified as Potnian (*po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*; Jn 310, 431), as decorators (*a-ke-te-re*, Jn 832), perhaps as helmet-makers (*pa-ra-ke-te-e-we*, Jn 750), and perhaps as *a-to-mo* (Jn 832).

113 The quality of the data is now much higher than it was in the 1970s, when Lindgren 1973 was published. There are accurate textual transcriptions (Bennett and Olivier 1973; Bennett et al. in prep.), studies of scribal hands and administration (Palaima 1988, 2003a, 2011) and the internal logic of sets of particular texts (e.g., Smith 1995), a long and rich history

One way of mitigating this problem is to treat prosopographical identifications not as isolated phenomena used to make particular arguments, as they often are, but as part of larger trends, since a broad pattern of probable identifications provides a more stable foundation for analysis than a single potential match. That is, a single match (such as *ko-ma-we* on Jn 750 and Cn 925) may be doubted, but extensive identifications among groups of names (for example, smiths and herders) are more difficult to chalk up to coincidence, particularly when the evidence for prosopographical identification comes from independent sources. The more plausible matches can be made between two sets of names, the more likely become matches of the same type. Hence, in Chapters Three and Four, I proceed by examining sets of overlapping names: smiths and herders, smiths and landowners, smiths and military officers, and so on. Consequently my analysis does not depend on any one prosopographical identification, but rather on the cumulative effect of extensive patterns of plausible prosopographical identifications.

Not only is it the case that in many instances positive arguments can be made for prosopographical identification, but negative examples—instances where the same name is certainly applied to more than one individual—are exceedingly rare. In almost every case, it is theoretically possible that one name equals one individual. In fact, other than the example of *du-ni-jo* discussed above (section 2.2), there is only one other comparable instance of the same name appearing more than once on a single document on which we would not expect the same person to appear.[114] If homonymy were as much of a problem as many seem to think it is, then we should expect to find many more examples like this, with multiple homonymous entries on the same tablet. For instance, the name *qe-to-ro-no* appears twice on the same

of scholarly interpretation of various terms (personal names, place-names, official titles, professional designations), and a much better understanding of how the palatial centers operated and related to their territories and communities living in those territories (e.g., Halstead 2001; Killen 2008; Shelmerdine 2008a; Rougemont 2009). See Palaima 2003b on the history of Mycenaean studies.

[114] There are, of course, many instances of individuals who appear multiple times in the same document because they act in a supervisory capacity of some kind (e.g., the names of "collectors" in herding texts, *telestai* in landholding texts). I mean that *du-ni-jo* on An 192 appears more than once in parallel entries, a situation that cannot be explained in terms of supervisory function. Nor do the entries provide different information (as for example entries on a landholding tablet might, if the same person held multiple plots of land but under different conditions, for which see for example *e-ri-ta* on Ep 704.3, .5–6). There is also one case where a name appears twice in the *o-ka* texts (*ma-re-u*), suggesting that prosopographical identification is impossible and we are dealing with two homonymous individuals.

tablet, Jn 431, which records the allocations of metal to smiths at the site of *a-pe-ke-e*. This name is listed both among those smiths "having an allotment" of metal (*ta-ra-si*[*-ja e-ko-te, talasiān* (*h*)*ekhontes*) and among those smiths who are "unalloted" (*a-ta-ra-si-jo, atalasioi*). This would seem to be a clear case of homonymous individuals, since the same man should probably not belong to both groups.[115] In any case, it is striking that *qe-to-ro-no* is the *only* name in the Jn series that recurs in mutually exclusive categories on the same text.

We can push this argument further. It seems odd that although the Jn series preserves 225 complete names on large page-shaped tablets, there is only one instance where the same name appears twice on a text in noncompatible contexts.[116] It seems that this should happen more often than it does. To measure this intuition, I ran tests to simulate the results if names were randomly assigned to the Jn series. I used a random number generator to assign names to the complete entries in the Jn series for smiths with and without an allotment of metal.[117] Integers representing the number of complete names of smiths were allocated in sequence to entries in the Jn series.[118] Each random integer was therefore assigned the slot of an actual entry in the Jn series. I ran 10 simulations, yielding an average of 5.1 instances similar to that of *qe-to-ro-no*, where the same name appeared more than once on a tablet in noncompatible contexts.[119] This striking result, combined with the fact that intra-text homonymy is virtually never a problem at Pylos, suggests that homonymy did not present much of a problem for the scribes, either because of the large number of given names relative to individuals in Mycenaean Pylos, or because scribes found ways of working around the problem. That is, it may be that some of the names in the texts are nominal

115 I say "probably" because there are two other possible solutions: it might be the result of scribal error (see section 3.1.1) or, less probably, it might be that *qe-te-ro-no* is entitled to two allotments of metal at the same site, only one of which he receives (although there is no other parallel for this second alternative).

116 By noncompatible, I mean that the same person should not be able to occupy both roles at the same time. Thus, if the same name is recorded on the same text as having more than one allotment or being both unalloted and having an allotment, the match is defined as noncompatible. On the other hand, it is possible for a smith (with or without an allotment) to appear as a servant-owner on the same text.

117 I generated random numbers using the www.random.org website, which uses atmospheric noise to generate truly random integers.

118 I ordered the texts according to their numbers, beginning with Jn 310 and finishing with Jn 927.

119 The minimum number of noncompatible homonyms was three, the maximum eight, with a standard deviation of 1.52.

formations designed to eliminate potential ambiguities.[120] Unfortunately the nature of the Linear B documentation means that this hypothesis is not provable.[121]

In any case, this admittedly crude test of the Jn series not only suggests that the argument for dismissing prosopographical identification on the basis of simple homonymy is inadequate, but it also shows how limited the evidence against prosopographical identification is, both absolutely but especially in contrast to the abundant indications that suggest that matches are possible. Low-probability prosopographical matches (categorized as possible or tenuous) are assigned in most cases not because of evidence discouraging prosopographical identification, but because of a lack of positive evidence. Fragmentary words, variations in spelling, and incomplete documents all frustrate our ability to observe prosopographical connections at all scales of analysis. Where our documentation is relatively complete, on the other hand, we are able to apprehend patterns that would otherwise be invisible.

Thus, although the stumbling blocks are considerable, the nature of the Pylian evidence—its concentration in time, space, and function—allows for a contextual approach that can make significant progress in Mycenaean prosopography. Personal names form the bulk of the Mycenaean lexicon, so that prosopographical developments promise to enhance our understanding not only of the tablets themselves, but also the institution and society of which they are a product. Most of all, however, these methods allow us to talk about the people of Pylos, by organizing previously disconnected bits of information into dossiers of the activities of historical Mycenaean men and women. It is to this task that I now turn.

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120 For instance, some Pylian personal names are formally patronymics (e.g., *pa-qo-si-jo*, from *pa-qo-ta*), which may have been used as personal names by the scribes to distinguish between two individuals monitored by the administration. On the other hand, patronymics can also be used as personal names in Classical Greek (e.g., names ending in -ίδας/-ίδης).

121 In Assyriology, on the other hand, it is sometimes possible to recognize nicknames in official documentation, for instance when an Old Babylonian cylinder seal inscribed with the owner's name is used to seal a tablet that refers to this individual by his nickname (Stol 1991, p. 210; Charpin 2010, p. 86).

## CHAPTER THREE

# SMITHS AND HERDERS

In the following two chapters, I apply the methods discussed in Chapter Two to the named individuals of Pylos. Because I focus on contextual indications of prosopographical identification, particularly clusters of recurring names, this chapter is organized by textual series rather than proceeding on a name-by-name basis (which is the function of the Appendix). This chapter focuses its attention on smiths (Jn series) and herders (Cn series). I begin with these individuals for several interrelated reasons. First, smiths constitute the largest cohesive group of named individuals in the Pylian corpus, with 263 names, and herders constitute the second largest with 199 names. Second, there is a significant overlap between the names from these groupings (30 names).[1] Finally, because the Jn and Cn series are relatively intact, both in the sense that there are many well-preserved documents and in that the documents as we have them probably represent a relatively large percentage of their original number,[2] it is possible to apply a range of contextual arguments for prosopographical identification. Chapter Four then deals with the rest of the Pylian documentation, using the same methods.

In each section of this chapter and the one that follows, I focus on a group of names from an administrative series. First I examine those names that appear more than once within a given set of documents—in the case of the Jn series, some names appear as smiths in multiple records at different locations. I then examine potential matches between the series under investigation (say, Jn) and other tablet series in descending order of sample size and evaluate the possibility of prosopographical identification in each case. I do this because it allows me to recognize potential clusters of personal names, but it also has the unfortunate side effect of creating

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1 The An series preserves 224 names, more than the Cn series, but the An series is not a unified series of documents and hence the names from the An series do not represent a cohesive group of individuals.

2 For the Jn series, two-thirds of which is probably preserved, see Lejeune 1971, pp. 194–195; Ventris and Chadwick 1973, pp. 356, 508–509. It is difficult to know how complete the Cn series is, because no totaling records have been found (see the discussion of Halstead 2002, pp. 162–171).

a certain amount of duplication between different sections and even chapters; I compensate for this with extensive cross-referencing.

Although this chapter does not have an argument as such, the sum result of the discussion is significant: it shows that significant numbers of smiths and herders are individuals tasked with multiple responsibilities by the palatial authority. There is no consistent pattern that explains these prosopographical identifications in administrative terms. That is, the observable data do not seem to be the effect of administrative design. Instead, they must be the result of complex interactions between individuals, social groups, and the palace itself. Extensive discussion of the consequences of this prosopographical work, and what the nature of these interactions was, is taken up in Chapter Five.[3]

## 3.1. The Smiths of Pylos

I begin with the largest category of names, those of smiths (*ka-ke-we*, *khalkēwes*, cf. χαλκεῖς) who appear listed by name in the Ja and Jn series.[4] There are 225 complete and certain names in the Jn series; including fragmentary and uncertain names, the total rises to 263. The Jn series records the names of smiths, two-thirds of whom have a *ta-ra-si-ja* (*e-ko-te/e-ko-si ta-ra-si-ja*, (*h*)*ekhontes*/(*h*)*ekhonsi talasiān*) and receive bronze or copper from the palace to be worked into finished products, one-third of whom are without a *ta-ra-si-ja* (*a-ta-ra-si-jo, atalasioi*) and do not receive an allocation of metal. On three texts there are also *g*ʷ*asilēwes* (*qa-si-re-we*, singular *qa-si-re-u*), who perhaps serve as supervisors of the metal allocation process.[5]

### 3.1.1. *Recurring Names in the Jn Series*

It is striking that several names appear more than once in the Jn series. Some of these recurring names merely reflect scribal procedures that involve writing the name of a smith at multiple steps in the administrative process. For

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[3] One might see these patterns as evidence for selective palatial interest in particular individuals, as Peters (2009) does. Peters sees palatial interest in specific individuals as an expression of patronage (e.g., Peters 2009, p. 220). While my conclusions (see below, Chapter Five) differ from his, we agree that the pattern needs to be understood in terms of social interactions.

[4] Smith 1995 provides a superb discussion of the administrative organization of the Jn series.

[5] Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 127 and n. 4. Carlier 1995, p. 356, argues that the rarity of *g*ʷ*asilēwes* in the Jn series suggests that their involvement was occasional.

example, a number of the same names occur on Jn 725 and on other Jn texts. Jn 725 is clearly a temporary document, the information in which is superceded by other Jn texts.[6] A number of smiths' names were recorded at Jn 725 as having a *ta-ra-si-ja*; these were presumably individuals who were available for work. Later, some of these smiths were given metal allotments and others were not. All eight names on Jn 692 also appear on the *recto originalis* of Jn 725, which was erased as a block. In both texts they appear at the same location, *na-i-se-wi-jo*, but while Jn 725 had allotted metal to all the smiths, on Jn 692 six of them are *a-ta-ra-si-jo*. The same is true of Jn 658, which seems to be an updated version of Jn 725; again, the toponym (*e-ni-pa-te-we*) is the same, and all but one (16 out of 17) of the names that appear on Jn 658 also appear on Jn 725 (see above, section 2.2). In addition, the total amount of metal is roughly comparable (L 2 M 20 on Jn 658 compared to L 2 M 18 on Jn 725). Jn 725 lists many more smiths, however, and it seems possible that the palatial administrators had originally planned to allot smaller portions of metal to more smiths, but later decided to concentrate larger allotments to a reduced number of active smiths.

Nevertheless, once we eliminate the correspondences that involve the preliminary texts Jn 725 and Jn 693, we are still left with a significant number of names (22) that appear more than once in the Jn series.[7] The fact that the Jn texts are organized by toponym encouraged the view among Mycenologists that these names *must* represent different individuals, since there would be no reason for the same smith to work at more than one place. For example, Lindgren resists identifying these names as single individuals, primarily because of the problem of location, arguing that if we accept the prosopographical identifications, the conclusion "would be that a number of smiths, according to some system—no longer accessible to us—were moving (or moved?) around in the Pylos kingdom."[8]

One set of these 22 recurring names in the Jn series must certainly represent the same individuals: the eight individuals who own servants (*do-e-ro*) and are listed as smiths on the same text. All four servant-owners on Jn 310 appear elsewhere on that text in other capacities: *pa-qo-si-jo* and *ke-we-to* are smiths without an allotment, *po-ro-u-te-u* has an allotment, and

[6] Lejeune 1971, p. 191; Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 62; Smith 1995, p. 194. Only Lang (1966, p. 411) argues that Jn 658 is an interim record and that Jn 725 was a finished document. Cf. Smith 1995, pp. 204–205.

[7] Smith 1995, pp. 191–193, considers Jn 693 another "working" tablet.

[8] Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 66.

*i-wa-ka* is a Potnian smith with an allotment.[9] There can be no doubt that the smiths and the servant-owners are the same individuals. Thus, individual smiths may or may not own servants, and this fact apparently exerts no influence on whether they receive metal from the palace or not. Likewise, the servant-owners *pu-ra-ta* and *mi-ka-ri-jo* on Jn 605 are also smiths with allotments on the same text, and the smiths *qe-ta-ko* (Jn 431) and *e-u-we-to* (Jn 750) have allotments, but their servants on the same texts do not. This set of prosopographical identifications appears to be relatively straightforward.

Excluding these identifications of smiths who own servants and repeating names from the probable working tablets Jn 693 and Jn 725, there are 14 names which appear in more than one Jn text (see Table 3.1).

*Table* 3.1: Names that appear in more than one Jn text

| Name | Jn texts | Role(s) | Toponym (location)[10] |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-ka-ma-wo* | Jn 431.12 | *a-ta-ra-si-jo* | *a-pe-ke-e* |
| | Jn 706.18 | *a-ta-ra-si-jo* | *pa-to-wo-te* |
| *a-ti-pa-mo* | Jn 750.4 | M 1 N 2 | *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP) |
| | Jn 320.6 | M 1 | *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-ụ* |
| *a-tu-ko* | Jn 658.10/Jn 725.7 | M 5 | *e-ni-pa-te-we* (south HP) |
| | Jn 927 | *a-ta-ra-si-jo* | ]*ṃẹ-no*? |
| *a₃-so-ni-jo* | Jn 310.3 | M 1 N 2 | *a-ke-re-wa* (south HP) |
| | Jn 706.11 | M 5 | *pa-to-wo-te* |
| *e-do-mo-ne-u* | Jn 389.2 | M 3 | *a-ka-si-jo-ne* |
| | Jn 605.2 | M 1 N 2 | *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (north HP) |
| *e-ri-ko-wo* | Jn 845.7 | *qa-si-re-u* | [ ] |
| | Jn 927.11 | *a-ta-ra-si-jo* | ]*ṃẹ-no*? |
| *ka-ra-u-ko* | Jn 706.8 | [ ] | *pa-to-wo-te* |
| | Jn 832.5 | *a-ta-ra-si-jo* | *ro-u-so* (south HP) |
| *ma-no-u-ro* | Jn 605.7 | *a-ta-ra-si-jo* | *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (north HP) |
| | Jn 692.5/Jn 725.19 | *a-ta-ra-si-jo* | *na-i-se-wi-jo* (south HP) |
| *mo-re-u* | Jn 389.6 | M 1 N 2 | *a-ka-si-jo-ne* |
| | Jn 431.13 | *a-ta-ra-si-jo* | *a-pe-ke-e* |
| | Jn 750.10 | [ ] | *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP) |
| *o-na-se-u* | Jn 601.6 | M 12 | *po-wi-te-ja* |
| | Jn 658.5/Jn 725.4 | M 5 | *e-ni-pa-te-we* (south HP) |

[9] On Potnian smiths, see Lupack 2006, pp. 101–103.

[10] If the location of the toponym is known, I designate it in parentheses. HP is an abbreviation for the Hither Province, FP for the Further Province. I do not here use Smith's (1995) suggestions for the geography of the Jn series.

| Name | Jn texts | Role(s) | Toponym (location) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *pa-qo-si-jo* | Jn 310.8, .12 | *a-ta-ra-si-jo*, 1 *do-e-ro* | *a-ke-re-wa* (south HP) |
| | Jn 601.8 | *qa-si-re-u* | *po-wi-te-ja* |
| | Jn 832.10 | *a-ke-te-re* | *a-to-mo* |
| *pe-re-qo-no* | Jn 605.10 | 2 *do-e-ro* | *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (north HP) |
| | Jn 725.3 | unspecified | *e-ni-pa-te-we* (south HP) |
| *po-so-ro* | Jn 601.5 | M 8 | *po-wi-te-ja* |
| | Jn 750.3 | M 1 N 2 | *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP) |
| | Jn 845.11 | *a-ta-ra-si-jo* | [ ] |
| *qe-te-ro-no* | Jn 431.5 | M 7 | *a-pe-ke-e* |
| | Jn 431.13 | *a-ta-ra-si-jo* | *a-pe-ke-e* |
| *we-we-si-jo* | Jn 431.18 | M 3 | *a-pe-ke-e* |
| | Jn 658.2/Jn 725.3 | M 5 | *e-ni-pa-te-we* (south HP) |

I begin with geography, the basis for Lindgren's objection to making prosopographical identifications for names that appear more than once in the Jn series.[11] Several of the toponyms in the Jn series appear nowhere else in the Pylian corpus, so that it is difficult to be sure that geography actually is a problem. Of the 14 names in Table 3.1, only two appear at multiple toponyms whose locations are known. Both *ma-no-u-ro* and *pe-re-qo-no* appear at *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (northern Hither Province) on Jn 605 and at *na-i-se-wi-jo* (southern Hither Province) on Jn 725.[12] It is a remarkable coincidence that both these names appear at the same locations, one which may suggest that they do not represent homonyms, but the same person. This conjecture is possible even if one takes a fairly skeptical stance on prosopographical identification. Dealing with *pe-re-qo-no* first, we may note that he is listed as the owner of two servants (*do-e-ro*) on Jn 605: perhaps his physical presence was not required. Our second smith, *ma-no-u-ro*, is listed as being without an allotment (*a-ta-ra-si-jo*) in both locales, so that he is inactive in any case.

Setting geography aside for the moment, no clear patterns emerge from the names that recur within the Jn series. Some names appear without allotments of metal in two places (*a-ka-ma-wo* and *ma-no-u-ro*), others apparently have allotments in more than one place (*a-ti-pa-mo*, *a-tu-ko*, *a₃-so-ni-jo*, *e-do-mo-ne-u*, *mo-re-u*, *o-na-se-u*, *po-so-ro*, and *we-we-si-jo*). One striking fact is that two of the three *gʷasilēwes* in the Jn series appear on

11 Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 65 n. 30, 66 n. 31.

12 The name *ma-no-u-ro* also appears at *na-i-se-wi-ja* on Jn 692.

multiple Jn texts (*e-ri-ko-wo* and *pa-qo-si-jo*). In both of these cases, they recur as smiths without an allotment of metal.[13] This seems too fortuitous to be coincidental. One name, *qe-te-ro-no*, does appear twice on the same Jn text (Jn 431, lines 5 and 13); this name belongs to one smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* and another without a *ta-ra-si-ja* (see above, section 2.5). The fact that the same name appears in what are mutually exclusive categories probably indicates that we have two different individuals with the same name. This might encourage the belief that the 13 individuals in Table 3.1 simply represent homonyms: that is to say, *qe-te-ro-no* and these other individuals represent the end product of the same phenomenon. On the other hand, the repetition of *qe-te-ro-no* could simply be the result of a scribal error. We know that initially lists of smiths' names were drawn up without specific amounts of metal allocated to them, as on Jn 725. At a later administrative phase, these names were rewritten on new tablets, where the precise weights of metal allocated to them (or not, if they were *a-ta-ra-si-jo*) were recorded. Thus, it would be understandable for a scribe to record the allocation of metal to a particular individual, and then mistakenly list him as *a-ta-ra-si-jo*, not realizing that he had already been listed as having a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

It is striking that we have 13 names that appear multiple times on *different* texts, but only one (*qe-to-ro-no*) who appears more than once on the same text in mutually exclusive categories.[14] The first observation we may make from this fact is that while we cannot *prove* that these names represent the same individuals, neither can we *exclude* it. The second observation is that, although the sample size is small (14), this pattern is remarkably skewed toward potential prosopographical identifications that cannot be excluded. Since the effects of homonymy would be random (that is to say, random individuals would have the same names), we would in fact expect for far more matches of names that are clearly false, as I showed above (section 2.5). It is therefore probable that the recurring names in Table 3.1 do not represent homonyms, but rather actual individuals who are listed at different locations in the Pylian kingdom.

This conclusion, although plausible on the basis of prosopographical criteria, is admittedly difficult to explain in practical terms. It seems odd that

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[13] The third *g^w^asileus* is *a-pi-qo-ta*, who does not recur on other Jn texts but is the head of a *geronsiā* on An 261 and Un 616.

[14] By mutually exclusive categories, I mean that it makes no sense to have individuals who both do and do not receive metal. On the other hand, the names of smiths who also have servants on the same text do not appear in mutually exclusive categories.

palatial administrators would record the distribution of metal to individual smiths by toponym if individual smiths occasionally worked at multiple locales, even if those locales were sometimes located fairly close together. On the one hand, the evidence strongly suggests that these smiths were part-time craft producers.[15] The *talasiā* allocation is almost certainly annual, yet relatively small amounts of metal are disbursed to individual craftsmen: allotments range from 1.5 to 12 kg, with an average of ca. 3.5 kg.[16] The fact that the palace allocated metal to specific individuals rather than to workshop supervisors, moreover, may suggest that the individual was the basic unit of production.[17] We could therefore imagine mobile smiths who worked at various locales within the polity on a seasonal basis, notwithstanding Lindgren's skepticism.[18] On the other hand, the numbers involved are quite small: 14 names appear in multiple Jn texts, representing about 5% of the

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15 Killen 1979a, p. 134; Uchitel 1993; Smith 1995, pp. 191, 210–211 n. 109.

16 Chadwick (Ventris and Chadwick 1973, pp. 509–510) argued that this was due to a bronze shortage due to disruption of trade routes from Cyprus, but most of the bronze tested from Messenia actually derives from Aegean sources (Kayafa 1999, pp. 359–360; Stos-Gale et al. 1999; Stos-Gale 2000, pp. 63–66). Kayafa concludes on the basis of her wide-ranging study of Bronze Age metallurgy in the Peloponnese that Cyprus was never the primary source for copper on the Greek mainland (Kayafa 1999, pp. 373–375). The Cape Gelidonya shipwreck, which is roughly contemporary with the main Pylian archive, carried much less bronze than the earlier Uluburun shipwreck (late 14th century BC), but it is difficult to use such a small sample of shipwrecks from western Anatolia to make meaningful conclusions about the nature of the bronze supply to Pylos (cf. Dickinson 2006, pp. 30–35). Sherratt (2000, 2001, 2003) has argued for a shift in the nature of the bronze trade at the end of the Late Bronze Age, toward a decentralized but high-frequency exchange in scrap bronze, which might explain the differences between the cargoes of the two ships. I am not convinced by Sherratt's (2001) argument that the precipitous collapse of the Pylian state was occasioned by the reconfiguration of trade that undermined palatial operations, since among other things it relies on an overly rigid distinction between palatial and independent exchange (Dickinson 2006, pp. 35–37; Routledge and McGeough 2009). The annual nature of the *talasiā* is based on KN So(2) 4442, which refers to a deficit from "last year's" (*pe-ru-si-nwa*) *talasiā*. See Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 372, and further bibliography in Aura Jorro 1993, p. 114 n. 3, s.v. *pe-ru-si-nu-wo*.

17 The allocation of metal to supervisors is the norm in Near Eastern texts: see Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 352; Heltzer 1979, pp. 491–493. The archaeological evidence for bronze production in Messenia, scanty as it is, does not make a significant contribution to our understanding. Unit III-4 from Nichoria (LH IIIA2-B2) yielded ca. 70 fragments of bronze, including scraps and droplets of bronze waste, as well as reddened patches of soil with ash and traces of carbonized material (Rapp et al. 1978, p. 180; Hope Simpson and Hagel in Aschenbrenner et al. 1992, p. 398). Evidence of smelting adduced by Cooke and Nielsen (1978, pp. 183, 204–209) is doubted by Catling (in Catling and Hughes-Brock 1992, p. 621).

18 Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 66. These smiths would not be itinerant, but settled in particular towns or villages, and they would have traveled for specific palatial jobs. Cf. Gibson 1996, pp. 108–109.

total number of names attested in the Jn series. Thus it is possible that the unit of production could on occasion be a group associated with a named individual, such as his household.[19] This is consistent with the textual data, which only need indicate that the individual was responsible for ensuring the completion of the work, whether he did it himself or not. This is far from impossible, for there are hints in the texts of production beyond the individual.[20]

Some of these smiths certainly (*a-tu-ko*) or probably (*a-ka-ma-wo, $a_3$-so-ni-jo, e-do-mo-ne-u, e-ri-ko-wo, o-na-se-u, po-so-ro*) engaged in activities, some of them non-metallurgical, in still other places. This hypothesis will be strengthened by the analysis of the sections below, which shows that smiths are sometimes involved in multiple activities in different places within the kingdom (see above, section 2.4). This may indicate that these men were generally involved in a variety of economic pursuits in different parts of Messenia (see further Chapter Five). The allocations of metal to a single individual in multiple locations may simply be an expression of the generally wide geographical distribution of named Pylians' activities. These considerations about the nature of bronze production in Messenia suggest that topographical variation should not be seen as a major obstacle to prosopographical identification. I therefore find the prosopographical identification of names that recur in multiple Jn texts certain.

### 3.1.2. *Smiths in the Cn Series*

The 30 overlapping names between the Jn and Cn series comprise the largest category of names that recur in multiple textual series. This group has proved to be the center of the debate about prosopograhical identification, since these names almost never appear at the same place-names, thereby disagreeing with the expectation of earlier scholars that the same individuals should appear at the same place-names in different texts. Only one name, Γλαῦκος (*ka-ra-u-ko*), is listed as a herder and a smith at the same toponym (*ro-u-so*). Lindgren therefore concludes that "since we have found a smith's and a herdsman's activity localized to one and the same place—should we not expect more than *one* single correspondence of place indications between the Jn and the Cn texts to be able to assert more definitively that we are concerned with the same individuals?"[21]

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19 Cf. Childs and Killick 1993, p. 329.

20 A handful of smiths are listed against multiple workers in the Jn series (Jn 431.25–26) or servants (*do-e-ro*; Jn 605.10).

21 Lindgren 1973, vol. 2., p. 67.

As I showed in Chapter Two (section 2.4), however, names from the Cn and Jn series display an anomalous degree of overlap: the 30 names are 1.53 to 2.14 times greater than what we might expect. Another way of expressing this is that although names from the Jn series comprise 32 % of all Pylian names, nearly 50 % of recurring Cn names appear in the Jn series (30 out of 64).[22] We can therefore state with confidence that naming patterns of herders in the Cn series and smiths in the Jn series are strikingly similar, either because they are the same individuals or because their names came from a common and restricted pool.[23]

This general observation is confirmed by more detailed patterns: not only do names attested in the Jn series tend to cluster together on texts when they appear in the Cn series, but the same names that are listed together on individual Jn texts also appear together in groups on individual Cn texts. These recurring Jn names rarely comprise the majority of the entries on any single Cn text, nor are there systematic correspondences between individual Jn and Cn texts. That is to say, we do not find most of the names from one Jn tablet (say, Jn 605) recurring on one Cn tablet (say, Cn 40). Rather, Jn names are dispersed within the Cn series. For example, Cn 131 contains six names that overlap with the Jn series, but all six come from different Jn texts. It is this lack of obvious connections, what one might describe as the "patchiness" of these patterns, which has deterred scholars from attributing these names to the same individuals.

A striking pattern emerges when one examine those names that appear on Jn 431, however: when they occur in the Cn series, they almost always appear in groups of more than one (see Table 3.2). This pattern is striking, since it shows that all but one (*a-ka-ma-wo*) of the eight smiths' names from Jn 431 who appear in the Cn series appear there with another name from Jn 431.[24] This pattern is difficult to attribute to mere chance in naming practices.

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22 Conversely, although names from the Cn series comprise 22 % of all Pylian names, 36 % of recurring Jn names appear in the Cn series (30 out of 83).

23 I use "herder" conventionally to designate individuals in the Cn series who are recorded against palatial flocks, even though we do not know what they were called by the palatial administration (as opposed to smiths, who are called *ka-ke-we*).

24 We might explain the lack of connection to *a-ka-ma-wo* by reference to the fact that Cn 131 is part of a "set" (Palmer 1963, p. 169) concerned with *pi-*82*; many of the smiths' names from Jn 431 appear in the set of Cn 45, 570 and 600, located in the Further Province. See too the groupings proposed by Thompson 1998, pp. 229–235.

*Table* 3.2: Potential smiths from Jn 431 in the Cn series by tablet

| Cn text | Smiths' names | Names from Jn 431 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 45 | 5 (of 13 personal names on the text) | *a-ko-to-wo* | *qe-ta-ko* | *wi-ja-te-wo*?[25] | |
| 131 | 6 (of 27) | *a-ka-ma-wo* | | | |
| 436 | 3 (of 8) | *a-ta-tu-ro* | *ko-tu-ro*$_2$ | | |
| 570 | 1 (of 2) | *qe-ta-ko* | | | |
| 600 | 7 (of 15) | *ke-we-no* | *qe-ta-ko* | *wi-ja-te-wo*? | **82-de* |
| 1287 | 3 (of 10) | *qe-ta-ko* | *da-u-ta-ro*?[26] | | |

A closer look at key Cn texts may also bring some of the patterns into sharper focus. Cn 285 contains five names (in 13 total entries) that also show up in the Jn series (Table 3.3). One of these names, *Awekseus* (*a-we-ke-se-u*), appears on two consecutive lines (.5–.6), so that nearly half of the entries on the tablet might be smiths. Only two other entries on this tablet appear elsewhere at Pylos: *Phawāwōn* (*pa-wa-wo*) and *Aswios* (*a-si-wi-jo*).

*Table* 3.3: Cn 285 and the Jn series

| Line | Herder name | Flock | Other text(s) |
|---|---|---|---|
| .2 | *a*$_3$*-ta-ro-we* | [ ] | Jn 415.2, Cn 328.15 |
| .3 | *re-ta-mo* | CAP$^m$[ | – |
| .4 | *ka-ra-u-ko* | C̣ẠP̣$^m$[ ] 30 | Jn 706.8, 832.5 |
| .5 | *a-we-ke-se-u* | OVIS$^m$ 50 | Jn 605.7, Cn 131.9, Cn 595.2 |
| .6 | *a-we-ke-se-u* | CAP$^m$ 30 | Jn 605.7, Cn 131.9, Cn 595.2 |
| .7 | *wa-da-ko* | CAP$^m$ 86 | – |
| .8 | *si-no-u-ro* | CAP$^m$ 60[ | – |
| .9 | *ra-ma-jo* | CAP$^f$ 20 | Jn 692.5, ⟦Jn 725.19⟧, Ub 1316? |
| .10 | *pa-wa-wo* | [ ]$^f$[ | Vn 493.2 |
| .11 | *e-ke-da-mo* | OVIS$^m$ 100 | – |

[25] This name is written *wi-ja-te-wo* in the nominative on Jn 431.11 (Hand 2), but *wi-ja-te-we* in the dative on Cn 45 and Cn 600 (Hand 21). We would expect the nominative of *wi-ja-te-we* to be written as **wi-ja-te-u*, and we would expect the dative of a nominative *wi-ja-te-wo* to be written as *wi-ja-te-wo-ne*. Aura Jorro (1993, p. 430, s.v. *wi-ja-te-we*) considers these problems insurmountable from a morphological perspective, but given the close connection between Jn 431 and Cn 600, we may want to consider the possibility of a scribal variation or error: the sounds which are represented by *wo* and *u* are close enough that the scribe (Hand 2) may have substituted *wo* for *u* (cf. the alternative spelling *e-*]*ḳẹ-ra*$_2$*-u-na* for *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* [Palaima 2002]). Alternatively, the scribe may have applied different endings to the same root, like the variation between *ma-ka-ta* and *ma-ka-wo* (see above, section 2.2).

[26] This name is written *da-u-ta-ro* on Jn 431 (Hand 2), but *da-u-da-ro* on Cn 1287 (Hand 31).

| Line | Herder name | Flock | Other text(s) |
|---|---|---|---|
| .12 | *a-si-wi-jo* | OVIS$^{m}$ 11̣6̣ | Eq 146.11 |
| .13 | *o-ki-ra* | OVIS$^{m}$ 116 | – |
| .14 | *o-ti-na-wo* | OVIS$^{m}$ 100 | – |

First, we may note that Cn 285, like many other Cn tablets (Cn 40, 45, 254, 491, 599, 600), is organized by ideogram. It lists goats first (CAP) followed by sheep (OVIS). The scribe of this text (Hand 1) breaks this order in line 5, with the flock of 50 sheep of *a-we-ke-se-u*, probably in order to keep two entries of *a-we-ke-se-u* adjacent to each other, which would naturally imply that the same individual was meant.[27] There may be yet another reason for the arrangement of the entries: four of the first five entries are potentially smiths.[28]

A similar clustering of smiths' names appears on Cn 600. Out of the 15 entries on this tablet, there are potentially seven smiths (see Table 3.4). Cn 600 is organized by ideogram, but as on Cn 285, four of the first five entries are possibly smiths. Moreover, the last two entries, which are the only two herders of pigs in this text, are both possibly smiths from Jn 431 (*qe-ta-ko* and **82-de*). As I noted above, three or perhaps four of these names appear on Jn 431 alone. There does seem to be a relatively strong connection between Jn 431 and Cn 600, and this is perhaps confirmed by the presence of names from Jn 431 on Cn 45 and Cn 570 (see Table 3.11), texts that Palmer considered parts of the same "set" as Cn 600.[29]

*Table* 3.4: Cn 600 and the Jn series

| Line | Place-name | Herder name | Flock | Other text(s) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| .1 | *o-re-e-wo , wo-wo* | *ke-wo-no* | OVIS$^{m}$ 50 | Jn 431 |
| .2 | *o-re-e-wo , wo-wo* | *de-ko-to* | OVIS$^{m}$ 100 | Jn 410 |
| .3 | *o-re-e-wo , wo-wo* | *ke-ro-u-te-u* | OVIS$^{m}$ 90 | Fn 324 |
| .4 | *o-re-e-wo , wo-wo* | *e-te-re-ṛọ* | OVIS$^{m}$ 90 | Jn 415, An 435? |
| .5 | *o*[*-re-e-*]*ẉọ , wo-wo* | *mi-ka-ri-jo* | OVIS$^{m}$ 92 | Jn 605 |
| .6 | *re-qa-se-wo , wo-wo* | *wa-ra-wo-ṇọ* | OVIS$^{m}$ 70 | – |
| .7 | *ti-mi-to , a-ke-e* | *te-*[ | ọṿịṣ$^{m}$ 80 | |
| .8 | *ti-mi-to , a-ke-e* | *a-*[ ]*-u* | OVIS$^{f}$ 60 | |

[27] Kyriakidis 2008, p. 457.

[28] The second entry, *re-ta-mo*, is unknown elsewhere, and it is possible (since we do not have all of the names from the Jn series), that the first several entries all were individuals involved in smithing. Ultimately of course this possibility is unverifiable.

[29] Palmer 1963, p. 169; Thompson 1998, p. 229.

| Line | Place-name | Herder name | Flock | Other text(s) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| .9 | *re-qa-se-wo , wo-wo* | *ka-wi-ta* | OVIS$^{f}$ 70 | – |
| .10 | *re-qa-se-wo , wo-wo* | *wi-ja-te-we* | OVIS$^{f}$ 80 | Jn 431, Cn 45 |
| .11 | *ti-mi-to , a-ke-e* | *o-pe-se-to* | OVIS$^{f}$ 60 | – |
| .12 | *ti-mi-to , a-ke-e* | *e-te-wa-jọ* | CAP$^{f}$ 3̣0 | Cn 254 ?, Sa 1267, Sa 769, Xa 639 |
| .13 | *ti-mi-to , a-ke-e* | *a-no-ze-we* | CAP$^{f}$ 36 | – |
| .14 | *ti-mi-to , a-ke-e* | *qe-ta-ko* | SUS$^{m}$ 30 | Jn 431, Cn 45, Cn 570, Cn 1287 |
| .15 | *ti-mi-to , a-ke-e* | **82-de[* | SUS$^{f}$ 12 | Jn 431 |

Similarly, the tablet Cn 40 has four possible matches with the Jn series out of 14 entries (see Table 3.5). Like Cn 285 and Cn 600, three of these possible smiths cluster at the end of the text, constituting the final three entries, which are also the only shepherds on this text with female sheep. The fourth possible match appears in line 4, *po-ru-qo-ta*. Strikingly, *po-ru-qo-ta* recurs with *e-wi-te-u* on Cn 437, a fragmentary text with only two legible names.[30] *e-wi-te-u* is also a herder on Cn 40. We therefore have two individuals who appear on two Cn texts together (Cn 40, 437) who are also smiths on different texts (Jn 832, 845). There can be little doubt that *po-ru-qo-ta* and *e-wi-te-u* the shepherds are both smiths.

*Table* 3.5: Cn 40 and the Jn series

| Line | Place-name | Herder name | Flock | Other text(s) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| .1 | *wa-no-jo , wo-wo* | *ne-ti-ja-no-re* | OVIS$^{m}$ 140 | Cn 599 |
| .2 | *wa-no-jo , wo-wo* | *po-so-po-re-i* | OVIS$^{m}$ 75 | – |
| .3 | *wa-no-jo , wo-wo* | *zo-wi-jo* | OVIS$^{m}$ 70 | – |
| .4 | *wa-no-jo , wo-wo* | *po-ru-qo-ta* | OVIS$^{m}$ 60 | Jn 845, Cn 437 |
| .5 | *e-ko-me-no* | *pa-ta* | OVIS$^{m}$ 80 | – |
| .6 | *e-ko-me-no* | [·]*-ma-te-we* | OVIS$^{m}$ 70 | – |
| .7 | *a-ne-u-te* | *ma-ri-ti-wi-jo* | OVIS$^{m}$ 83 | An 594 |
| .8 | *ma-ro-pi* | *ro-ko* | OVIS$^{m}$ 150 | Cn 655 |
| .9 | *ma-ro-pi* | *ka-da-ro* | OVIS$^{m}$ 85 | – |
| .10 | *ma-ro* | *tu-ri-ta* | OVIS$^{m}$ 80 | – |
| .11 | *re-pe-u-ri-jo* | *e-zo-wo* | ỌVỊṢ$^{m}$ 82 | Cn 599 |
| .12 | *ma-ro* | *ma-u-ti-jo* | OVIS$^{f}$ 60 | Jn 389 |
| .13 | *a-ne-u-te* | *ka-ta-wa* | OVIS$^{f}$ 80 | Jn 605 |
| .14 | *a-te-re-wi-ja* | *e-wi-te-we* | OVIS$^{f}$ 70 | Jn 832, Cn 437 |

[30] Cn 437 has been joined by José Melena to Xn 490 and Cn 1063 (Melena 1995b, p. 314; 1997b, p. 280; 1998b, p. 176).

*Figure* 3.1: PY Cn 131. H. 19.9, W. 11.4, Th. 2.1 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati.

Finally, let us consider Cn 131 (Figure 3.1), a tablet on which six of the 27 entries consist of smiths' names (underlined):

Cn 131

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| .1 | pi-*82 , we-re-ke | | | |
| .2 | pa-ro , pi-me-ta , × | OVIS$^m$ 200 | pa-ro , o-ku-ka , | OVIS$^m$ ×̣ 130[ |
| .3 | pa-ro , ku-pi-ri-jo , | OVIS$^m$ 50 × | pa-ro , a-ka-ma-wo | OVIS$^m$ 120 × |
| .4 | pa-ro , ko-ru-no | OVIS$^m$ 100 × | pa-ro , ne-ri-to | OVIS$^m$ 30 × |
| .5 | pa-ro , po-ro-u-te-we | OVIS$^m$ 90 × | pa-ro , o-wa-ko | CAP$^f$ 54 ×̣ |
| .6 | ma-ro-pi , to-ro-wi | OVIS$^m$ 130 × | pa-ro , a-no-po | OVIS$^m$ 130 × |
| .7 | pa-ro , ke-ro-wo | OVIS$^m$ 130 × | pa-ro , ra-pa-sa-ko | OVIS$^m$ 91 × |
| .8 | pa-ro , po-ke-we | OVIS$^f$ 27 × | pa-ro , a-ri-wo-ne × | OVIS$^m$ 100 |
| .9 | pa-ro , a-we-ke-se-we | OVIS$^f$ 170 × | pa-ro , po-ko-ro | OVIS$^m$ 100 × |
| .10 | pa-ro , e-ti-ra-wo | OVIS$^m$ 100 × | pa-ro , a-ta-ma-ne-we | OVIS$^m$ 140 × |
| .11 | pa-ro , se-no | OVIS$^f$ 44 × | pa-ro , ko-ro | OVIS$^f$ 24 × |
| .12 | pa-ro , do-qo-no | × OVIS$^m$ 80 | pa-ro, wo-ki-to × | OVIS$^m$ 73 |
| .13 | pa-ro , me-te-we | OVIS$^m$ 163 × | pa-ro , ke-sa-me-no | OVIS$^f$ 40 × |
| .14 | ]p̣ạ-ro , pu-wi-no | CAP$^f$ 55 | | |

Although this text has a columnar arrangement, it was written left to right.[31] A pattern again emerges: smiths' names tend to appear paired together in the same line, so that Cn 131.3 lists *ku-pi-ri-jo* (Jn 320) and *a-ka-ma-wo* (Jn 431, 706), and Cn 131.5 lists *po-ro-u-te-we* (Jn 310) and *o-wa-ko* (Jn 725). Immediately after these two matches in line 5, the very next entry in line 6 is another possible smith, *to-ro-wi* (Jn 601). Another possible match is *a-we-ke-se-u* (Jn 605), but without a corresponding match in the other column. None of these potential smiths appear on the same Jn texts, yet their names clearly appear to be clustered on Cn 131. It is also worth noting that this text is not organized by the type of animal: species and gender are freely mixed. Although the first seven entries are of flocks of male sheep, the scribe next lists the flock of female goats held by one *o-wa-ko* (line 5). This would have allowed the scribe the freedom to order the entries according to some other system. It seems probable, then, that the clusters in this text are not the result of accident.

What patterns can we discern in the subset of names that appear in the Cn and Jn texts? Both smiths with and without allotments occur in the Cn texts, so their role within the Jn series does not seem to be a deciding factor. It is however remarkable that smiths' names that appear in the Cn texts do not appear in other contexts in which smiths' names generally occur. Of the

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31 As were all Linear B texts: Chadwick 1987b, p. 16; Bennett 1996, p. 126.

30 smiths' names that appear in the Cn series, only one (*ko-ma-we*) appears in the *o-ka* texts, while only three (*i-ma-di-jo, e-do-mo-ne-u*, and *ko-tu-ro*$_2$) appear in landholding texts. Thus, most of the smiths' names that appear in the Cn series (20 of 30, 66.7 %) occur *only* in the Cn and Jn series.

Given the dense web of associations between the Cn and Jn series, and the patterns that emerge upon close inspection of individual Cn and Jn texts, I view it as highly probable that most of the names represent the same individuals. The main objection of Lejeune and Lindgren to these prosopographical identifications is the evidence of the place-names. There are two problems with their skepticism. First, in most cases the locations of the toponyms in question is not known, so it is not possible to say that geography is in fact an obstacle to prosopographical identification. This is the case in 23 of the 30 names that appear in the Cn and Jn series. In the remaining seven cases, geography does not present a problem in three (*ka-ra-u-ko, ka-ta-wa*, and *ra-ma-jo*). Four names (*a-we-ke-se-u, mi-ka-ri-jo, o-wa-ko*, and *pe-qe-u*) do appear in geographically disparate locales. In all these cases, there are compelling reasons to propose prosopographical identification (see below, Table 3.6). Second, as Lindgren herself notes, it is likely that within the Cn series the same herder may keep flocks at different locations (see below, section 3.2.1).[32] If this is so, then it is equally possible that a smith from the Jn series may keep flocks in the Cn series at other locations. In any case, the emphasis on geography is in the first place based on the doubtful assumption that these individuals are not important and should therefore be confined to a single locale. The consistent clustering of smiths' names in the Cn series strongly suggests that we are not witnessing random recurrences of typical or common Mycenaean names. According to my criteria, 27 of the 30 (90 %) potential prosopographical identifications are probable or certain (see Table 3.6).

[32] Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 67.

*Table* 3.6: Smiths and herders

| Name | Cn text(s) | Jn text(s) | Prosopographical identification | Reason for prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *a-ka-ma-wo* | 131, 719 | 431, 706 | Probable | Cluster with *ku-pi-ri-jo* |
| *a-ko-to-wo* | 45, 254 | 431 | Certain | Link between Cn 45 and Jn 431 |
| *a-ta-tu-ro* | 436 | 431 | Certain | Link between Cn 436 and Jn 431 |
| *a-we-ke-se-u* | 131, 285, 592 | 605 | Certain | Cluster in Cn 285 |
| *a-*64-jo* | 1287 | 832 | Possible | |
| *da-u-ta-ro* / *da-u-da-ro* | 1287 | 431 | Probable | Link between Cn 1287 and Cn 431 |
| *de-ko-to* | 600 | 410 | Certain | Cluster in Cn 600 |
| *do-ro-jo* | 45 | 320 | Probable | Adjacent to *pe-qe-u* on Cn 45 |
| *e-do-mo-ne-u* | 925 | 389, 605 | Probable | Appears with *ko-ma-we* on Cn 925 |
| *e-te-re-ṛọ* / [·]*-te-re-ro* | 600 | 415 | Probable | Cluster in Cn 600 |
| *e-wi-te-u* | 40, 437 | 832 | Certain | Cluster with *po-ru-qo-ta* |
| *i-ma-di-jo* | 436 | 310 | Probable | Cluster with *a-ta-tu-ro* and *ko-tu-ro*$_2$ |
| *ka-ra-u-ko* | 285 | 706, 832 | Certain | Toponym, cluster in Cn 285 |
| *ka-ta-wa* | 40 | 605 | Certain | Cluster in Cn 40 |
| *ke-we-no* | 600 | 431 | Certain | Link between Cn 600 and Jn 431 |
| *ko-ma-we* | 925 | 750 | Probable | Appears with *e-do-mo-ne-u* on Cn 925 |
| *ko-tu-ro*$_2$ | 436 | 431 | Certain | Link between Cn 436 and Jn 431 |
| *ku-pi-ri-jo* | 131, 719 | 320 | Probable | Cluster with *a-ka-ma-wo* |
| *ku-ri-sa-to* | 4 | 706 | Possible | |
| *ma-u-ti-jo* | 40 | 389 | Probable | Cluster in Cn 40 |
| *mi-ka-ri-jo* | 600 | 605 | Certain | Cluster in Cn 600 |
| *o-wa-ko* | 131 | 725 | Certain | Cluster with *po-ro-u-te-u, to-ro-wi* |
| *pe-qe-u* | 45 | 693 | Probable | Adjacent to *do-ro-jo* on Cn 45 |
| *po-ro-u-te-u* | 131 | 310 | Certain | Cluster with *o-wa-ko, to-ro-wi* |
| *po-ru-qo-ta* | 40, 437 | 845 | Certain | Cluster with *e-wi-te-u* |
| *qe-ta-ko* | 45, 570, 600, 1287 | 431 | Certain | Links between Cn 45, 600, 1287, and Jn 431 |
| *ra-ma-jo* | 285 | 692, 725 | Probable | Number of smiths on Cn 285 |
| *to-ro-wi* | 131 | 601 | Certain | Cluster with *o-wa-ko, po-ro-u-te-u* |
| **wi-ja-te-u/ wi-ja-te-wo* | 45, 600 | 431 | Possible | Links between Cn 45, 600, and Jn 431 |
| **82-de* | 600 | 431 | Certain | Link between Cn 600 and Jn 431 |

### 3.1.3. *Smiths and the* o-ka *Set*

The *o-ka* set consists of five tablets within the An series that record contingents of men assigned to watch the coast.[33] This series contains three classes of named individuals:

1. the man who commands the military unit (the *o-ka*), in the genitive;
2. men who appear in the nominative after the location of the *o-ka* is indicated, who are presumably officers of some kind; and
3. the *hekʷetai* (*e-qe-ta*), "followers," who appear in a formula *me-ta-qe , pe-i , e-qe-ta* ("and with them, the follower" so-and-so). The placement of *hekʷetai* is irregular, but there can only be at most one *hekʷetās* per contingent of men.[34] These men may represent palatial officials who act as a liaison between the palace and the troops.

Of the 61 certain and complete names attested in the *o-ka* texts, nine smiths' names appear in three texts (see Table 3.7). Most of these individuals are in the second class of named men, i.e., officers.[35] One is an *o-ka* commander (*Dwoios, du-wo-jo*, on An 656.11) and *Komāwens* (*ko-ma-we*) may possibly be a *hekʷetās* (or if not, an officer).[36] I argued above (section 2.4) that the prosopographical identification of *Komāwens* on Jn 750 and An 519 is certain. By association, the prosopographical identification of *ka-ḳẹ*[ on An 519.6 with *ka-ke-u* on Jn 750 is highly probable, since we would then have two smiths from the same Jn tablet appearing in the same military unit on An 519. The third smith on An 519 is *Murtōnās* (*mu-to-na*), who appears on Jn 706. On An 654, two smiths appear in two different units: *Antiāwōn* (*a-ti-ja-wo*) and *pe-ri-no*.[37] *pe-ri-no* recurs on Jn 706.3, alongside

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[33] The header of the *o-ka* set (An 657.1) records that "thus the watchers are guarding the coastal regions" (*o-u-ru-to , o-pi-a₂-ra , e-pi-ko-wo*: *hō wruntoi opihala epikowoi*). On the *o-ka* tablets, see Mühlestein 1956, 1983; Ventris and Chadwick 1956, pp. 184–194; 1973, pp. 427–430; Palmer 1977; Uchitel 1984; Lang 1990.

[34] For example, the *o-ka* units on An 656 both have more than one *hekʷetās* associated with them, but there is always a contingent of men (designated by the VIR ideogram and a numeral) intervening between any two *hekʷetai*.

[35] There are 61 certain and complete names in the *o-ka* set; another four fragmentary or uncertain examples bring the total to 65. Of these, 25 appear elsewhere. Of these 25 recurring names in the *o-ka* set, more than one-third (36 %) are smiths, a rate which is about the same as the percentage of all Pylian certain and complete names that belong to smiths (225 out of 700, or 32 %). Thus smiths' names are not anomalously common in the *o-ka* set (as they are in the Cn texts).

[36] Nakassis 2008, p. 552 n. 15.

[37] Both *a-ti-ja-wo* and *pe-ri-no* are the third officers listed in their *o-ka*.

*Murtōnās*, while *Antiāwōn* recurs on Jn 845.2, where the *g^w^asileus* and *o-ka* officer *Erigowos* (*e-ri-ko-wo*) also appears.

Three smiths' names appear on An 656: *Erigowos* (*e-ri-ko-wo*), *Dwoios* (*du-wo-jo*), and *pu₂-ti-ja*. A fourth connection between the Jn series and An 656 is that one of the *hek^w^etai* on An 656 is named *pe-re-qo-ni-jo , a-re-i-jo*: the first item is a patronymic formed from the name *Pēlek^w^honos* (*pe-re-qo-no*), the second is his name, the theophoric *Arehios/Arēios*.[38] The name *Pēlek^w^honos* appears on two Jn tablets and in the Ea series as an important landholder, designated as a "cowherd" (**qo-qo-ta*, *g^w^o(u)g^w^otās*, cf. βουβότας).[39] Many of the landholders in the Ea series are explicitly retained by individuals attached to the *lāwāgetās*, a fact that has led some to argue that the series records land within the competence of the *lāwāgetās*.[40] It is possible that these instances of *Pēlek^w^honos* represent the same individual as the father of *Arehios/Arēios* the *hek^w^etās*, especially given his prominence in the Ea series and somewhat prominent position in Jn 605, where he is in the possession of two servants.[41] The name *Dwoios* (*du-wo-jo*) belongs to the commander of the second *o-ka* listed on An 656, and appears on Jn 750, the same Jn text on which *Komāwens* and *Khalkeus* appear.[42] *Erigowos* (*e-ri-ko-wo*), an officer in the first *o-ka* on An 656, appears as a *g^w^asileus* on Jn 845, the same Jn text as the smith *Antiāwōn* (*a-ti-ja-wo*). Finally there is *pu₂-ti-ja*, alternatively written as *pu-ti-ja* on An 340 and Qa 1294 by Hands 22 and 15 respectively, while Hands 1 (An 656) and 2 (Jn 601) use the more precise spelling. He is an officer in the *o-ka* of *Dwoios* on An 656, a recipient of **189* on Qa 1294 at *a-pu₂*, and appears with (*pa-ro*) *a-ta-o* on An 340, a tablet that apparently records workers, many of whom are smiths, under the supervision of *a-ta-o*, himself a smith (see below, section 3.1.5).

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[38] Many scholars have asserted that *a-re-i-jo* on An 656.6 is a patronymic, with *pe-re-qo-ni-jo* being the name of the *hek^w^etās* (for references, see Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 96–97, s.v. *a-re-i-jo*). Formally, of course, both are formed by adding *-ios* to the end of a personal name, a practice associated with patronymics and theophoric names. If *a-re-i-jo* is a personal name, then it is perfectly explicable as a theophoric of Ares, *Arehios/Arēios*. But if it is a patronymic, then we must assume that there was a Mycenaean individual whose name was Ares, which is without a Mycenaean parallel and extremely unlikely given that historical Greek parallels are also very rare before the 1st century BC (R. Parker 2000, pp. 57–59).

[39] Ea 270. Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 130.

[40] Palmer 1963, p. 220.

[41] On groups of workers as indicative of prominence, see de Fidio 1989, p. 23, and Killen 1995a, p. 215, who compare them to workers attributed to "collectors."

[42] In this case, the geographic distance between *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (Jn 750) and *a-ke-re-wa* (An 656) should not argue against prosopographical identification; Lang 1988, p. 192.

Of the five *o-ka* tablets, smiths appear on three, and always in groups of two or more, for a total of nine men. Only once may two names from the same *o-ka* text recur on the same Jn text (*Komāwens* and *Khalkeus*), of whom one, *Komāwens*, can be identified with certainty as a smith and an officer in the *o-ka* texts. This certain prosopographical identification greatly increases the likelihood that the other recurring names should also be identified as a single individual: if we take *Komāwens* as a starting point, the reading *ka-ḳẹ*[*-u*] (for *Khalkeus*) becomes much more likely for An 519, and the identification of *Murtōnās* also becomes more probable, since we would have three smiths' names on the same *o-ka* text.

The relatively large number of names on An 656 that recur in the Jn series (four out of 15 named individuals) makes it plausible that these refer to smiths, as does the fact that in the *o-ka* of *Dwoios*, one of the three officers (*pu*$_2$*-ti-ja*) recurs in the Jn series. *Dwoios* himself appears on Jn 750 with *Khalkeus* and *Komāwens*, and his probable appearance on Vn 34 coincides with that of *Kahesamenos* (*ka-e-sa-me-no*), a *hek*$^w$*etās* attached to *Dwoios*'s unit on An 656. As a result, the appearance of two other smiths' names on An 656, *Erigowos* and *Pēlek*$^w$*honos*, seems less coincidental.

The prosopographical identification of the two possible smiths on An 654 with homonymous individuals from Jn texts is less easy to assess. Both individuals on An 654 appear with other officers in the Jn texts: *Antiāwōn* (*a-ti-ja-wo*) recurs on Jn 845 with *Erigowos*, and *pe-ri-no* recurs on Jn 706 with *Murtōnās*. However, neither *Erigowos* nor *Murtōnās* can be identified with certainty as smiths and officers, so that the prosopographical identification of smiths on An 654 is possible but not probable.

In sum, the patterning in the names between the Jn series and the *o-ka* texts is highly suggestive, and offers a few certain and/or nearly certain prosopographical identifications. Geographically these prosopographical identifications might seem problematic: three smiths are located in the Further Province (at *a-si-ja-ti-ja*) but appear on the coast of the Hither Province in the *o-ka* texts, and in only perhaps one case does a smith watch the coast near to the locale where he is allocated metal.[43] As Lang has

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[43] The three geographically problematic prosopographical identifications are *du-wo-jo*, *ka-ke-u*, and *ko-ma-we*. It is possible that *pu*$_2$*-ti-ja*'s location in the *o-ka* texts (*a-ke-re-wa*) is geographically proximate to the place where he is allocated metal (*po-wi-te-ja*). As noted above (section 2.3), several individuals appear at *a-pu*$_2$ and *po-wi-te-ja*, which might indicate that these toponyms are proximate. If so, *po-wi-te-ja* would not be very distant from *a-ke-re-wa*.

pointed out, however, we need not expect the location of an individual's military service to be proximate to the place where he lives and works.[44]

*Table* 3.7: Smiths' names in the *o-ka* texts

| Name | Tablets | Function in the *o-ka* texts | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ka-ke-u* | An 519.6<br>Jn 750.8 | Officer | Probable |
| *ko-ma-we* | An 519.10<br>Cn 925.1<br>Jn 750.9 | Officer | Certain |
| *mu-to-na* | An 519.3<br>Jn 706.7 | Officer | Probable |
| *a-ti-ja-wo* | An 654.2<br>Jn 845.2 | Officer | Possible |
| *pe-ri-no* | An 654.12<br>Jn 706.3 | Officer | Possible |
| *du-wo-jo* | An 656.11<br>Jn 750.12<br>Vn 34.9 | *o-ka* commander | Certain |
| *e-ri-ko-wo* | An 656.2<br>Ep 212.2<br>Jn 845.7<br>Jn 927.11 | Officer | Probable |
| *pe-re-qo-no* | An 656.6<br>Ea 270<br>Jn 605.10<br>Jn 725.3 | Patronymic *of hekʷetās* | Possible |
| *pu₂-ti-ja* | An 656.13<br>An 340<br>Jn 601.3<br>Qa 1294 | Officer | Probable |

### 3.1.4. *Smiths and the* ke-ro-si-ja

One striking and well-known pattern involving names from the Jn series is the connection between smiths and An 261 and Un 616, both of which record individuals assigned to *geronsiai* (*ke-ro-si-ja*, cf. γερουσία).[45] The entries on

[44] Lang 1988, p. 192.
[45] PY An 261 has been recently discussed by Deger-Jalkotzy (2002), who accepts the prosopographical identifications of the names on An 261 and Un 616 with smiths in the Jn series, as does Palmer (1963, pp. 228–229); cf. Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 78–79.

An 261 record a name in the genitive, the word *ke-ro-si-ja*, and a name in the nominative followed by the ideogram VIR and the numeral 1. There are four men named in the genitive who are presumably the heads of the *geronsiai*. These names are repeated on the *verso* of Un 616, but instead of listing individual names in the nominative, Un 616 lists the numbers of men in each *geronsiā* (20, 17, 18, and 13). Of the four heads of *geronsiai* recorded, three (*o-two-we*, *a-pi-jo*, and *a-pi-qo-ta*) appear in the Jn series and two (*o-two-we* and *a-pi-jo*) even appear on the same Jn text, the preliminary text Jn 725; the fourth head (*ta-we-si-jo*) appears only on An 261 and Un 616.[46] Moreover, one of the men assigned to the *geronsiā* of *a-pi-qo-ta*, *Aisōnios* (*$a_3$-so-ni-jo*), is also possibly a smith (Jn 310, Jn 706). It therefore appears highly likely that while etymologically the term *geronsiā* means "a council of elders," these groups were somehow involved in craft production.[47] This is further corroborated by the presence of the word *gerontes* (*ke-ro-te*, cf. γέροντες) on Jn 881, although the fragmentary context does not allow us to determine its precise meaning.[48] The suggestion of Pugliese Carratelli, that *gerontes* designates members of a *geronsiā*, should be taken seriously, given the consistent contextual association of this word with craft production at Pylos.[49] The strong and consistent association of smiths with the *geronsiā* allows us to view the identification of smiths and *geronsiā* members as certain.

### 3.1.5. *Smiths and An 340*

An 340 records 14 named individuals, each of whom is listed with (*pa-ro*) an individual named *a-ta-o*.[50] The first line records that there are six men

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[46] Ventris and Chadwick (1956, p. 172) point out that *a-pi-qo-ta* is a *$g^w$asileus* on Jn 431, and suggest that all four *geronsia* "heads" are *$g^w$asilēwes* or "local chieftains." However, the prosopographical identification of one *$g^w$asileus* with a *geronsiā* head does not allow us to make the inference that all the heads of *geronsiai* are *$g^w$asilēwes*, since there is great variety in the official titles held by individuals in the Pylos texts. For example, Lejeune (1966) showed that *a-pi-me-de* the "collector" was a *$hek^w$etās*, but we are hardly justified in assuming that all "collectors" are also *$hek^w$etai*. On the spelling irregularities of *o-two-we*, see Palmer 1963, p. 228.

[47] Palmer argued that the craft context of *ke-ro-si-ja* suggests that the consensus etymology was incorrect (1963, pp. 228, 427). However, we need not expect perfect correspondence between an entity's name and its function in every instance (cf. Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 421).

[48] Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 79–78.

[49] Pugliese Carratelli 1963, p. 247.

[50] The Mycenaean preposition *pa-ro* (cf. παρά) usually means "with" in a locative sense (French *chez*), but it may also have an ablatival sense "from" (Thompson 2002, pp. 409–430).

with *a-ta-o*. On each subsequent line, his name is the first word, followed by a man's name in the nominative and VIR 1. *a-ta-o* therefore appears to be an individual responsible for all the men on the tablet. The name *a-ta-o* also appears on Jn 431, Vn 34, and Fn 324. In addition to *a-ta-o*, there are five other potential smiths from the Jn series on An 340 (see Table 3.8).

*Table* 3.8: Smiths and An 340

| Name | An 340 | | Name | Jn text |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ka-wa-ti-ro* | An 340.2 | ? | *]wa-ti-ro* | Jn 431.24 |
| *pu*[ ]*-a*$_2$*-ko* | An 340.7 | ? | *pu*$_2$*-si-ja-ko* | Jn 310.17 |
| *wo-ti-jo* | An 340.8 | = | *wo-ti-jo* | Jn 832.5 |
| *pu-ti-ja* | An 340.10 | = | *pu*$_2$*-ti-ja* | Jn 601.3 |
| *a-no-ra-ta* | An 340.12 | = | *a-no-ra-ta* | Jn 832.15 |

Of the 15 names on An 340, as many as six may appear in the Jn series, and two definitely appear on the same Jn tablet (832). Moreover, if we accept the reading *ka-*]*wa-ti-ro* for Jn 431.24, which is likely since no other attested Linear B word preserves the sign sequence *-wa-ti-ro-*, then we have two personal names (*a-ta-o, ka-wa-ti-ro*) on An 340 that recur together on Jn 431. All in all, An 340 has strong connections to the Jn series, particularly in the person of *a-ta-o*; I thus consider the prosopographical identification of these names with those in the Jn series certain if complete, probable if fragmentary.[51]

### 3.1.6. *Smiths and An 5*

The tablet An 5 is most often discussed with regard to the term *te-ko-to-*(*n*)*a-pe*, which has been variously interpreted as "missing carpenters" or a toponym; Killen has recently shown that it is almost certainly a toponym.[52] There are potentially three named smiths from the Jn series on this tablet (out of seven entries), some of whom are associated with each other in other contexts, making their identification as the same individuals seem highly probable. The name *Widwohios*, spelled *wi-do-wo-i-jo* on An 5.2, appears on Jn 415 written as *wi-du-wo-i-jo*, and again on Ep 539 as *wi-dwo-i-jo*, where

[51] For further arguments, see too Palmer 1963, pp. 138–139; Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 33, vol. 2, pp. 127–128, 177–178.

[52] Killen 1998b. See Chadwick 1967; Aura Jorro 1993, pp. 326–327, s.v. *te-ko-to* for previous discussions of the term.

he is described as the servant of *Amphimēdēs* (*a-pi-me-de*, Ἀμφιμήδης).[53] *Amphimēdēs* is one of the four "collectors" at Pylos, but Cn 655 is the only Cn text on which he appears. The name *to-ro-wi* also appears on Cn 655, Jn 601, and perhaps also on An 5, where it is written *to-ro-wi-ka*. These spellings perhaps represent one name, *Torowiks*.[54] This would mean that *Widwohios* and *to-ro-wi*(*-ka*) are related directly through their common occurrence on the Jn series and An 5, as well as indirectly through *Amphimēdēs*. A third smith's name, *ku-ri-sa-to*, also appears on An 5. Like *to-ro-wi*(*-ka*), he appears once in the Jn series (Jn 706) and once in the Cn texts (Cn 4): on both Cn 4 and An 5, he is located at the toponym *mu-ta-pi*.

Palmer argued, based on the occurrences of names on An 5 and Cn 4 and Cn 655, that the purpose of An 5 was to record the location of herders absent from their stations.[55] Indeed, all three place-names mentioned on An 5 also appear on Cn 4 and Cr 868.[56] It seems that An 5 is directly connected with the Cn series in terms of personnel and location, and is moreover topographically connected to the Cr series. The fact that so many potential smiths appear on this text and they are connected to each other outside of An 5 suggests that their prosopographical identification with the homonymous smiths is probable.

### 3.1.7. *Smiths and An 1281*

An 1281 is a tablet with five names that recur in the Jn series: *ma-ra-si-jo*, *Onaseus* (*o-na-se-u*), *Psolōn* (*po-so-ro*, Ψόλων), *re-u-si-wo*, and perhaps **ti-ta-ra-wo* (if *ti-ta-ra-*[ ] on An 1281.12 is the same name as *ti-ta-*[ ]*-wo* on Jn 389.6). Palmer has noted the connections between personnel listed on An 1281 with Fn 50, Ub 1318, and the Jn series.[57] An 1281 records the allocation of named craftsmen (in the nominative) to named recipients in the dative.[58]

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53 Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 186. One smith's name, *te-te-re-u*, also appears on Ep 539.

54 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 587; Killen 1986, p. 31. On this type of spelling, see *to-ra*(*-ka*) for *thōrāx*, *o-nu*(*-ka*) for *onux*, and *wa-na-ka* for *wanax* (see Aura Jorro 1993, pp. 364–365, s.v. *to-ra-ka*, pp. 28–29, s.v. *o-nu*, and pp. 400–401, s.v. *wa-na-ka*).

55 Palmer 1963, pp. 33, 132. I assume that Palmer must mean by "station" the individual's location in the Cn series. Palmer's own conclusions do not agree with the evidence, however, since neither *ku-ri-sa-to* nor *sa-ni-jo* are absent from their stations, for they appear in the same locations on Cn 4 and An 5. Most probably, however, Palmer is correct to assume that the location of the men is the concern of the scribe in this text.

56 See Killen 1998b, pp. 184–185; Melena 1998a, p. 163, following Lejeune (1971, p. 345 and n. 21).

57 Palmer 1963, p. 227. Palmer fails to notice the fifth potential smith, **ti-ta-ra-wo*.

58 Palmer 1963, pp. 226–227; Lupack 2008a, p. 124.

The tablet can be divided into two sections: one that follows the opening header, [*po*]-*ti-ni-ja* , *i-qe-ja* / [ ]-*mo* , *o-pi-e-de-i* ("To Potnia of horses, [ ]-*mo* to her seat"),[59] and another under the subheading [*po-ti*]-*a-ke-ṣị* , *po-ti-ni-ja* ("To Potnia at *po-ti-(j)a-ke*").[60] Chadwick notes that the four recipients in the dative repeat in both sections, albeit in a different order.[61]

All of the men who are potentially smiths are listed in the nominative on An 1281, and do not appear elsewhere in the Pylos corpus other than in the Jn series (see Table 3.9). The pattern is strong enough to suggest that prosopographical identification between the smiths and the names on An 1281 is probable. Other names in the nominative on An 1281 which do recur elsewhere include *ta-ni-ko*, who reappears on An 657 (an *o-ka* text), and perhaps *ru-ko-ro*, the name of a prominent landholder in the Ea series.

*Table* 3.9: Potential smiths on An 1281

| Line | Name | Jn text(s) | Recipient's name (dative) |
|---|---|---|---|
| .3 | *re-u-si-wo*[62] | Jn 692.6, 725.19 | *po-*]*ti-ni-ja , i-qe-ja*[63] |
| .5 | *o-na-se-u* | Jn 601.6, 658.5, 725.4 | *au-ke-i-ja-te-we* |
| .6 | *po-so-ro* | Jn 601.5, 750.3, 845.11 | *me-ta-ka-wa* |
| .11 | *ma-ra-si-jo* | Jn 706.9 | *mi-jo-qa* |
| .12 | *ti-ta-ra-*[ ] (*ti-ta-*[ ]*-wo*, Jn 389) | Jn 389.6 | *me-ta-ka-wa* |

There is clearly a relationship between An 1281 and Fn 50.[64] Three of the recipients named on An 1281 appear as servant-owners on Fn 50, where their servants receive rations of grain:

Fn 50

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| .11 | au[-ke-i-]ja-te-wo , do-e-ro-i | HORD T 1 |
| .12 | mi-jo[-qa ] do-e-ro-i | HORD V 3 |
| .13 | a-pi-ẹ-ṛạ do-e-ro-i | HORD V 3 |
| .14 | ]ẉọ[ ]ṇẹ[ do-e-ro-]i | HORD T 3 |

59 There may not be enough space to reconstruct [*do-so*]-*mo*, as proposed by Chadwick (Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 483) and Shelmerdine 1987, pp. 340–341. The seat of Potnia may have been the Northeast Building (Lupack 2008a, pp. 126–129; Lupack 2008b).

60 For the toponym *po-ti-ja-ke-e*, see An 298.2, An 610.11.

61 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 484.

62 It is possible that *re-si-wo* on An 1281.9 is the same individual as *re-u-si-wo*; see Appendix, s.v. *re-si-wo*.

63 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 483.

64 Most recently, Killen 2001b, p. 438.

Translation:

| | |
|---|---|
| To the servants of *Augeiāteus* | 9.6 liters of barley |
| To the servants of *Miōkʷā* | 4.8 liters of barley |
| To the servants of *Amphihērā* | 4.8 liters of barley |
| To the servants of ]*ẉọ*[ ]*ṇẹ*[ | 28.8 liters of barley |

An association has been suggested between the individuals named in the nominative on An 1281 with the ration-receiving servants on Fn 50.[65] If so, we would expect that *Augeiāteus* would have twice as many servants as *Miōkʷā* and *Amphihērā*, since his servants receive twice as much grain.[66] Indeed, both *Miōkʷā* and *Amphihērā* are allocated two men in An 1281, in which case we would expect four servants for *Augeiāteus*. Only three men are listed on An 1281, but it is possible that he had a fourth servant whose name was erased on An 1281.4.[67] If *Augeiāteus*'s fourth servant is missing, we are faced with the question of where the individuals allotted to *me-ta-ka-wa* on An 1281 have gone, and who the fourth possessor of servants is on Fn 50.14 (]*wo*[ ]*ne*); if his servants receive the same amount of grain (HORD V 1 Z 2), then he should have 12 servants (but *me-ta-ka-wa* has only two on An 1281).[68] There are clearly some difficulties in arguing for simple one-to-one correspondences between the named men of An 1281 and the servants of Fn 50, although it remains highly likely that they are related in some way.

Even if we were to identify the named individuals (which probably include smiths) of An 1281 with the servants in Fn 50, it would not imply that the smiths are of low standing or of unfree legal status. As Killen and Olivier have noted, *Miōkʷā* and *Amphihērā* are probably priestesses, since their names must be feminine, and the only females that have servants are deities and religious personnel.[69] This accords with the religious context of An 1281. The servants of Fn 50 were probably of relatively high status. Being a servant of a deity or of a priestess was grounds for holding a piece of land in the E- series; in some cases these servants hold as much land as some priests.[70]

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65 Hiller 1989, p. 51; Killen 2006a, p. 81. The issue is cautiously discussed by Lindgren (1973, vol. 2, pp. 37, 178, 198).

66 Alternatively, his three servants would receive slightly more grain (Z 8 as compared to Z 6).

67 After *au-ke-i-ja-te-we* is listed on An 1281.4, the text *i-qe-ja* VIR has been erased.

68 So Hiller 1989, p. 51.

69 Olivier 1960, pp. 134–135; Killen 2001b, p. 438. *Pace* Killen, this need not imply that Fn 50 is primarily to do with religious activity.

70 For servants of priests with land in the PY E- series, see Eo 609.16 (= Eo 224.6), Ep 539.7–9

*Augeiāteus* is also known to us from Ub 1318 as a recipient of animal skins in a manufacturing context.[71] We may therefore suggest that the named individuals on An 1281 are indeed smiths, who have been allotted to serve as full-time workmen in a particular religious context, for which they are being "paid" with grain on Fn 50 along with other craftsmen. I therefore consider the prosopographical identification of all five individuals on An 1281 with smiths as probable, with the exception of **ti-ta-ra-wo*, who is merely a possible match due to the fact that his name is fragmentary in both An 1281 and Jn 389.

### 3.1.8. *Smiths and An 172*

Out of 11 names on An 172, as many as three appear in the Jn series; the remaining names on this text do not appear elsewhere at Pylos. The first name, *Worwiātās* (*wo-wi-ja-ta*), appears to be part of the header, where it is probably modified by *raptēr*, "sewer, stitcher" (*ra-pte*, cf. ῥάπτης, ῥάπτρια). This would seem to contradict the potential prosopographical identification of the sewer with the smith, but as we have seen above, double professional spheres (e.g., smith and shepherd) are possible.[72] The other two names from this text that recur are *sa-ri-qo-ro* (Jn 845) and ]-*a*$_2$-*ta*, which may be the same name as *ko-a*$_2$-*ta* on Jn 706.[73]

Thus, as with An 340, a smith's name in the header is associated with a number of other possible smiths in the body of the text. Moreover, the record appears to have a craft context (as indicated by *ra-pte*), which may marginally increase the likelihood of identifying these men as smiths. However, there are no other contextual clues that would allow us to argue for a certain or probable prosopographical identification. In light of these difficulties, we can only propose that it is possible the men on An 172 are also smiths.

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(= Eb 1176, Eb 954), and cf. Ae 110 and particularly Ae 303, where 14 women are apparently the servants of the priestess "because of sacred gold." *we-te-re-u* the priest holds a plot of GRA T 5 on Eo 247.7; on the same tablet, *ko-ri-si-ja*, a female servant of the god holds the same amount of land (Eo 247.3).

[71] The prosopographical identification of *Augeiāteus* from An 1281 and the man of the same name on Ub 1318 seems to be universally accepted (Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 39). The other An 1281 recipients are not known outside of the Fn series.

[72] Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 133.

[73] The reading *ẉạ-a*$_2$-*ta* is possible, however, and appears as a man's name at Mycenae (MY Au 102.7). Only one other name at Pylos ends in *-a*$_2$*-ta*, *au-to-a*$_2$*-ta*.

### 3.1.9. *Smiths and Alum*

The probable Mycenaean word for alum, *struptēriā* (*tu-ru-pte-ri-ja*, cf. στ(ρ)υπτηρία), occurs twice in the Pylian archives, on An 35 and Un 443.[74] On An 35, one *a-ta-ro* is "paid" in staples for alum; the same formula is used on Un 443, but the recipient of the payment is *Kuprios* (*ku-pi-ri-jo*, Κύπριος).[75] The name *a-ta-ro* may appear elsewhere spelled as *a₃-ta-ro* (*Aithalos*, cf. Αἰθάλης), a smith with an allotment on Jn 415.2. In and of itself, this is perhaps uninteresting, and the connection between the smith *a₃-ta-ro* and the individual involved with the payment of alum, *a-ta-ro*, may seem tenuous. However, the name *Kuprios* that appears on Un 443 belongs, like *Aithalos*, to a smith with an allotment (Jn 320.3). He is probably the same individual as a shepherd of the same name with two flocks at *pi-*82* on Cn 131 and 719 (see above, section 3.1.2).[76] The parallel between the two potential smiths is striking: both names occur as smiths with allotments and both are involved in the only two references to alum in the Pylian texts. I therefore view the prosopographical identification of the men involved with alum and the smiths as probable.[77]

It is not entirely clear what the alum would have been used for. The Greek word στυπτηρία is defined as the "name of any of a group of *astringent substances* containing (a) alum or (b) ferrous sulphate."[78] It is generally thought that this alum would have been used by Mycenaeans as a mordant for dyeing, but as other less rare substances can also be used (e.g., urine), it seems unlikely that one would import it from Melos or further afield for this purpose (alum is not native to Messenia or indeed the Peloponnese).[79] The variety of materials which στυπτηρία can designate means that its range of possible uses is also great. It is possible that alum is an important ingredient in some bronzework. Smiths may have routinely used alum and other

74 On the form, see Aura Jorro 1993, pp. 379–380, s.v. *tu-ru-pte-ri-ja*.

75 For a recent study of the term *o-no*, see Killen 1995a, pp. 223–224; cf. Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 422. Lines 5 and 6 may have been written by a different scribe.

76 For *ku-pi-ri-jo*, see Godart 1968; Palaima 1991, pp. 281, 291–295; Killen 1995a, pp. 215–221; Shelmerdine 1998, pp. 295–296.

77 Firth 2007, pp. 134–135.

78 *LSJ* s.v. στυπτηρία. See too Firth 2007, pp. 130–132. The form στρυπτηρία is attested in inscriptions (Chantraine 1999, p. 1065, s.v. στρυφνός). See Baumbach 1987 on ancient testimonia regarding alum; see Barber 1991, pp. 235–239 on mordants in textile production.

79 Pliny (*NH* 35.183) mentions alum occurring in Spain, Egypt, Armenia, Macedonia, Pontus, Africa, Sardinia, Melos, Lipari, and Stomboli. Biringuccio (*Pirotechnia* 2.6; 1959, p. 99), the 16th century AD master craftsman and head of the papal foundry, locates it at the Hellespont near Mytilene, Mazarron (Spain), and various parts of Italy.

related astringents in order to fix colors into metal alloys, and to clean bronze by removing the scale created from the oxidation process, a practice described by Pliny (*NH* 33.65) and later writers.[80] It is possible that these smiths had access to imported alum for their own metallurgical uses and gave some surplus to the palatial authority in exchange for staples.

### 3.1.10. *Smiths and the E- Series*

The other major point of overlap involving smiths' names is the landholding texts of the E- series. Sixteen names from the Jn series appear in the landholding texts (Table 3.10). This number is slightly greater than one might expect; only 36 names from the E- series texts appear in other series at Pylos, so that 44.4 % of these names appear in the Jn series, a higher rate than the percentage of all the names at Pylos that appear in the Jn series (32 %).[81]

Perhaps the most prominent individual in this subset of smiths is *Atukhos* (*a-tu-ko*). He is listed as a landowner on En 609.5 (= Eo 211.2) and Ep 301.5 (= Eb 903?). On all of these tablets he is designated as an armorer (*e-te-do-mo, entesdomos*); on En 609 he is described more specifically as the royal armorer (*e-te-do-mo wa-na-ka-te-ro, entesdomos wanakteros*). There can be no doubt that this is a single individual, since he has the same name and designation.[82] The name *Atukhos* appears as a smith on Jn 658.10, Jn 725.7, and Jn 927.11; I have already argued that names recurring in more than one Jn text refer to the same individuals (see above, section 3.1.1). I also argued in Chapter Two that the cluster of smiths' names on Ep 301 made it all but certain that *Atukhos*, *Adamaos* (*a-da-ma-o*), and *Warnataios* (*wa-na-ta-jo*) the landowners are all smiths as well (see above, section 2.4). An individual named *e-do-mo-ne-u* is strikingly parallel to both *Atukhos* and *Warnataios*: he appears as a landholder with both of them on En 609.13 (= Eo 224.3, where *Warnataios* also appears) as a servant of the god. Like *Atukhos*, he appears twice in the Jn series, both times with a metal allotment (Jn 389.2, Jn 605.2). This pattern does not seem to be accidental, and we may therefore consider the prosopographical identification of *e-do-mo-ne-u* the landowner with the homonymous smith probable.

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[80] For the fixing of colors, see Papathanassiou 2002, p. 123 (summarizing a Byzantine recipe of Marcianus). For the cleaning of scale, see the Renaissance writer Biringuccio (*Pirotechnia* 9.4; 1959, p. 365).

[81] Slightly fewer names than would be expected recur from the E- series, probably because a relatively large portion of these names are feminine, and women's names are rare and tend to be restricted to religious contexts.

[82] Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, pp. 34–35.

Another group of parallel figures consists of *E*(*h*)*umenēs* (*e-u-me-ne*), *sa-ke-re-u*, and *Pēlekʷhonos* (*pe-re-qo-no*), all of whom appear in the Ea series. This series is distinct from the En/Eo and Eb/Ep texts that refer to the religious district of *Sphagiānes* (*pa-ki-ja-ne*). It is uncertain where the land of the Ea series is located (perhaps *ti-no*), but it seems connected to the *lāwāgetās*, whereas several of the the *Sphagiānes* landholders are connected to the *wanax*.[83] *E*(*h*)*umenēs*, which is a smith's name on Jn 725, appears on two Ea texts: on Ea 822 he has a lease from the *lāwāgesian* swineherd (*su-qo-ta*). On Ea 757 he holds a land allotment of the cowherd (*qo-qo-ta-o*, nominative **qo-qo-ta*, *gʷo*(*u*)*gʷotās*, cf. βουβότας). This cowherd is named on Ea 270 as *Pēlekʷhonos*, and this name belongs to a man who appears on two texts in the Jn series: he is a smith with an allotment on Jn 725.3 and the owner of two servants on Jn 605.10. The fact that both *E*(*h*)*umenēs* and *Pēlekʷhonos* appear on Jn 725 and are directly linked on Ea 757 suggests that the landowners are probably also smiths. A similar set of associations applies to *sa-ke-re-u*, a man who is prominent in the Ea landholding series. He loans out land on two texts (Ea 56, 304) and holds land in two texts: on Ea 776 he holds a lease from the *lāwāgesian* swineherd (*su-qo-ta*), on Ea 756 he is called a priest and holds a large plot of *ki-ti-me-na* land. This same name also belongs to a smith described as Potnian, i.e., associated with the female deity Potnia (Jn 431.17).[84] Thus, in both the Jn and Ea texts he is designated as an official with religious associations. This ought not to surprise us, since there is no evidence for full-time priesthood in Mycenaean Greece, nor would we expect it given the organization of religious offices in classical Greece. The general similarity between *E*(*h*)*umenēs* and *sa-ke-re-u* encourages us to view the latter's prosopographical identification as a possibility, which is strengthened by the religious associations of *sa-ke-re-u* in the Ea and Jn series.

For other names that appear in both landholding texts and the Jn series, there is not enough evidence to argue for prosopographical identification as probable or certain. I class the prosopographical identification of these other names as "possible," given the presence of three certain and three probable identifications between the Jn and E- series, and the fact that more names overlap between the Jn and E- series than one would expect (see Table 3.10).

83 On the Ea series, see Palmer 1963, pp. 218–221; Nikoloudis 2012.
84 On this phenomenon, see Lupack 2006, pp. 101–103.

*Table* 3.10: Smiths and landholders

| Name | Texts | Comments | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-da-ma-o* | Eb 747.A = Ep 301.4, Eo 351.1, .2 = En 659.8, .9, Jn 832.15 | *Telestās, ktoinohokhos* | Certain |
| *a-tu-ko* | En 609.5 = Eo 211.2, Ep 301.5, Jn 658.10, Jn 725.7, Jn 927.11 | Royal armorer | Certain |
| *e-do-mo-ne-u* | Cn 925.3, En 609.13 = Eo 224.3, Jn 389.2, Jn 605.2 | Servant of the god | Probable |
| *e-ri-ko-wo* | An 656.2, Ep 212.2, Jn 845.7, Jn 927.11 | *G$^{w}$asileus*, servant of the god, *o-ka* officer | Possible |
| *e-u-me-ne* | Ea 757, Ea 822, Jn 725.15 | | Probable |
| *e-u-ru-wo-ta* | Eb 156.1 = Ep 613.9, Jn 310.4 | Servant of the god | Possible |
| *i-ma-di-jo* | Cn 436.5, Ea 29, Jn 310.15 | Potnian smith | Possible |
| *ka-ra-pa-so* / *ka-ra-*56-so* | Eo 269 = En 659.19, Jn 389.5 | Servant of the god | Possible |
| *ko-tu-ro*$_2$ | Cn 436.6, Eb 839.A = Ep 613.13, Eb 499.A = Ep 301.13, Eb 1347.1, Jn 431.2 | *pa-da-je-u, ka-ma-e-u, mi-ka-ta* | Possible |
| *ne-qe-u* | Aq 64.15, Eb 495.1 = Ep 613.1, Jn 725.14, Qa 1298 | Brother of *hek$^{w}$etās Alektruōn, e-da-e-u* | Possible |
| *pe-re-qo-no* | Ea 270, Jn 605.10, Jn 725.3 | Cowherd of the *lāwāgetās*; possibly the father of the *hek$^{w}$etās Arehios/Arēios*; has two servants | Probable |
| *sa-ke-re-u* | Ea 56, Ea 304, Ea 756, Ea 776, Jn 431.17 | Potnian smith, priest | Probable |
| *te-te-re-u* | Eb 1176.A = Ep 539.8, Jn 389.12 | Servant of *Erithā* | Possible |
| *ti-qa-jo* | Eo 278 = En 467.1, Jn 310.2 | *Telestās* | Possible |
| *wa-na-ta-jo* | Eb 369.A = Ep 301.3, En 609.15 = Eo 224.5, En 609.3–8 = Eo 211, Jn 832.7 | *Telestās* | Certain |
| *wi-dwo-i-jo* | Ae 344, An 5.2, Eb 1186.A = Ep 539.12, Jn 415.3 | Servant of *Amphimēdēs* | Possible |

## 3.2. The Herders of Pylos

The Cn texts primarily record the number and type of animals in flocks monitored by the palace, as well as their location and the name of a man in the nominative or the dative (with or without the preposition *pa-ro*, meaning

with or *chez*).[85] These named individuals appear to be the men responsible for maintaining the flocks. They are traditionally thought to be low-status herders who watch over the animals in the field. Following usual practice, I call these individuals herders or shepherds, although we do not in fact know what their Mycenaean title was.[86] Occasionally, one of four names (in the genitive) is also listed after the herder's name: these are the so-called "collectors," whose names are *a-ke-o*, *a-ko-so-ta*, *a-pi-me-de*, and **we-da-ne-u*. A handful of Cn texts deals with contributions of animals by named individuals to the palatial authority; typically these documents record smaller numbers of animals.[87] In this section, I discuss the prosopographical identification of herders with individuals of the same name who appear elsewhere. There are a total of 197 names attested in the Cn series, of which 156 are completely preserved and certainly identified as personal names. Of the 64 names in the Cn series that recur in other series, nearly half (n = 30) appear in the Jn series (see above, section 3.1.2).

### 3.2.1. *Herders of Multiple Flocks*

As in the Jn series, it is relatively common for a name to appear more than once within the Cn series. Twenty-nine names appear as herders in more than one text, and it is fairly easy to observe in most cases that these are the same individuals, based on the fact that the recurring names appear in groups (see Table 3.11), as has been noted by Lindgren and Palmer.[88] Moreover, even where the patterning of names is not completely convincing, other evidence occasionally points to prosopographical identification. For example, both of the flocks of *ro-ko* are located at the same toponym (*ma-ro*), making this prosopographical identification all but certain. In other cases, the toponyms are not identical but are nevertheless located in the same area: for example, the flocks of *a-ka-ma-wo* are at *pi-*82* and at *wi-ja-we-ra*$_2$, which is located in the same area. Indeed, of the 29 names that appear in more than one Cn text, in 23 cases the toponyms are identical or proximate, and in only four (*a-we-ke-se-u, e-te-wa-jo, po-ko-ro*, and *ra-mi-ni-jo*) do the toponyms present geographical difficulties for prosopograhical identification.

Thus, a strong overall pattern confirms that many, if not all, of these names represent the same individual. This hypothesis is strengthened by

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85 Thompson 2002, pp. 417–420.
86 For the term *po-me*, see below, section 3.2.2.
87 Halstead 2002, pp. 162–163, 167 and n. 74.
88 Palmer 1963, pp. 165–169; Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 181–184.

the argument of Godart that the totals of "old" (*pa-ra-jo, palaioi,* alphabetic παλαιοί) sheep in selected areas equal the totals of "ordinary" males, and that these therefore represent the same animals reorganized into larger flocks.[89] Because most of the shepherds with old sheep recur in other Cn texts listed at the same toponym,[90] Godart has proposed that "the shepherds ... who had old sheep during the previous season have now had new flocks entrusted to them for the coming season."[91] There are some significant problems with this proposal, however, as Thompson and Rougemont have convincingly shown, and it seems best to assume that we have in these cases a single herder assigned two or more flocks of sheep.[92] The pattern noted by Godart would nonetheless suggest that the recurring names in the records of "old" sheep represent the same individuals who hold multiple flocks in a single region. These patterns lead me to accept these prosopographical identifications, following Lindgren.[93]

*Table* 3.11: Individuals who appear more than once in the Cn series, with toponyms indicated

| Name | Text 1 | Text 2 | Text 3 | Text 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *a-ri-wo* | Cn 131 (*ma-ro*) | Cn 655 (*ma-ro*) | | |
| *a-ta-ma-ne-u* | Cn 131 (*ma-ro*) | Cn 655 (*ma-ro*) | | |
| *e-ti-ra-wo* | Cn 131 (*ma-ro*) | Cn 655 (*ma-ro*) | | |
| *ke-ro-wo* | Cn 131 (*ma-ro*) | Cn 655 (*ma-ro*) | | |
| *pu-wi-no* | Cn 131 (*ma-ro*) | Cn 655 (*ma-ro*) | | |
| *ra-pa-sa-ko* | Cn 131 (*ma-ro*) | Cn 655 (*ma-ro*) | | |
| *se-no* | Cn 131 (*ma-ro*) | Cn 655 (*ma-ro*) | | |
| *to-ro-wi* | Cn 131 (*ma-ro*) | Cn 655 (*ma-ro*) | | |
| *a-ka-ma-wo* | Cn 131 (*pi-*82*) | Cn 719 (*wi-ja-we-ra*$_2$) | | |
| *ko-ru-no* | Cn 131 (*pi-*82*) | Cn 719 (*wi-]ja-we-ra*$_2$) | | |
| *ku-pi-ri-jo* | Cn 131 (*pi-*82*) | Cn 719 ([*pi-*82*]) | | |
| *o-ku-ka* | Cn 131 (*pi-*82*) | Cn 719 (*pi-*82*) | | |
| *ku-ka-ra-so* | Cn 643 (*pi-*82*) | Cn 719 ([*pi-*82*]) | | |
| *ma-ra-ni-jo* | Cn 643 (*pi-*82*) | Cn 719 (*pi-*82*) | | |
| *pa-pa-ro* | Cn 643 (*a-pa-re-u*) | Cn 719 (*a-pa-*]*re-u*) | | |
| *e-wi-te-u* | Cn 40 (*a-te-re-wi-ja*) | Cn 437 (]*wo-wo*) | | |

[89] Godart 1970; 1971, pp. 92–94; 1992, pp. 258–262; Killen 1993, pp. 214–215.

[90] Seven shepherds with *pa-ra-jo* sheep recur (they are *a-ta-ma-ne-u, e-ti-ra-wo, ko-ru-no, ma-ra-ni-jo, ne-ti-ja-no, ro-ko,* and *to-ro-wi*) out of 12 shepherds of *pa-ra-jo* sheep.

[91] Godart 1970, p. 161.

[92] Thompson 1998, p. 233; Rougemont 2009, pp. 333–345.

[93] Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 183–184.

| Name | Text 1 | Text 2 | Text 3 | Text 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *po-ru-qo-ta* | Cn 40 (*wa-no-jo wo-wo*) | Cn 437 (]*wo-wo*) | | |
| *e-zo-wo* | Cn 40 (*re-pe-u-ri-jo*) | Cn 599 (*a₂-pa-tu-wo-te*) | | |
| *ne-ti-ja-no* | Cn 40 (*wa-no-jo wo-wo*) | Cn 599 (*wa-no-jo wo-wo*) | | |
| *qe-ta-ko* | Cn 45 (*pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo*) | Cn 570 ([ ]) | Cn 600 (*ti-mi-to-a-ko*) | Cn 1287 (-) |
| *o-pe-qa* | Cn 45 (*pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo*) | Cn 570 ([ ]) | | |
| *wi-ja-te-u* | Cn 45 (*u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja*) | | Cn 600 (*re-qa-se-wo wo-wo*) | |
| *ro-ko* | Cn 40 (*ma-ro*) | Cn 655 (*ma-ro*) | | |
| *po-ko-ro* | Cn 45 (*u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja*) | Cn 131 (*ma-ro*) | | |
| *a-ko-to-wo* | Cn 45 (*pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-ja*) | Cn 254 (*a-si-ja-ti-ja*) | | |
| *a-we-ke-se-u* | Cn 131 (*ma-ro*) | Cn 285 (*ro-u-so*) | Cn 595 (*e-ra-te-re-wa*) | |
| *ra-mi-ni-jo* | Cn 328 (*a-ka-na-jo*) | Cn 719 (*pi-*]**82*) | | |
| *a₃-ta-ro-we* | Cn 328 (*a-ka-na-jo*) | Cn 285 (*ro-u-so*) | | |
| *e-te-wa-jo* | Cn 254 (*a-si-ja-ti-ja*) | Cn 600 (*ti-mi-to-a-ko*) | | |

### 3.2.2. *Herding in Other Series*

Other than the four "collectors" of Pylos, 27 complete names from the Cn series appear in other series, exluding the recurring names from the Jn series that have already been discussed (see above, section 3.1.2).[94] Several men appear in the Cn texts and in other texts that have to do with herding. One notable example is *ke-ro-wo*, who has two flocks in the Cn series (Cn 131 and 655) and is called a herdsman (*po-me*, *poimēn*, alphabetic ποιμήν) on Ae 134, where he is said to watch over the quadrupeds of *Thalamātās* (*ta-ra-ma-ta*).[95] Since all three texts in which *ke-ro-wo* appears deal with herding, we may infer that the same individual is meant in all three texts; some doubt is introduced by the fact that at Ae 134 *ke-ro-wo* is located at *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, in the Further Province, whereas his flocks in the Cn series are both at *ma-ro*, in the northern Hither Province (near *pi-*82*). We should not conclude from the probable prosopographical identification of *ke-ro-wo* that all individuals in the Cn texts would have been termed ποιμένες, however,

[94] Three are fragmentary names with only one sign preserved.
[95] Duhoux 2008, pp. 294–295.

*Figure* 3.2: PY Cc 660. H. 2.5, W. 12.5, Th. 1.4–1.0 cm. Photographic archives of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati.

since of the four individuals at Pylos identified as *poimenes*, only *ke-ro-wo* appears in the Cn texts.[96]

A similar situation obtains with the text Vn 493, whose header announces that it has to do with herding goats: "messengers having gathered kids."[97] Of the three names preserved among the entries, two appear in the Cn series (*pa-wa-wo* on Cn 285 and *po-ro-ụ*[*-te-*]*u* on Cn 131). Since the occupational context is secure and herders sometimes have more than one flock (see above, section 3.2.1), we may be certain that we are dealing with the same individuals here.

Finally, the "collector" *a-ke-o* appears in Cc 660, a text that seems to spell out more precisely his role in the Cn texts (Figure 3.2):

Cc 660

.a a-ke-o , a-ke-re
me-ta-pa , pa-ro ka-ra-su-no CAP$^{m}$ 30

Translation:

*a-ke-o* collects, at *me-ta-pa*, with *ka-ra-su-no*, 30 male goats

This text appears to be a leaf-shaped version of the typical one-line entries in the Cn texts, but instead of simply putting *a-ke-o*'s name in the genitive after the name of the herder, the scribe has used the verb (*a-ke-re, ageirei*, alphabetic ἀγείρει) to indicate the activity carried out by the "collector."[98]

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96 Other *poimenes* are *ko-do*, *mo-ro-qo-ro*, and *ti-qa-jo* (Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 119–121).

97 The heading reads *a-ke-ro , e-po , a-ke-ra$_2$-te*, which is most plausibly interpreted as *aggeloi erphons agerrantes*. Leukart 1996, however, suggests the reading *a-⟨ko⟩-ro*, *agoroi*, which he translates "collectors." Cf. Thompson 2010, pp. 192–193.

98 That is, its equivalent in a Cn text would be *me-ta-pa , pa-ro , ka-ra-su-no , a-ke-o-jo* CAP$^{m}$ 30.

### 3.2.3. *Herders and the An Series*

Eleven or 12 herders recur in the An series, which comprise a diverse set of texts all dealing with personnel (see Table 3.12).[99] Three herders appear on An 5, a text recording seven personal names at specified locations (see above, section 3.1.6). Two of these names, *sa-ni-jo* and *ku-ri-sa-to*, are the first two entries on Cn 4, a text which records men who owe the palace sheep. They are also the final two entries on An 5; in both texts, *sa-ni-jo* and *ku-ri-sa-to* are located at the same toponym (*qe-re-me-ti-wo* and *mu-ta-pi*, respectively). Clinching the prosopographical identification is that the texts were found in adjacent 10 × 10 cm findspot squares on the bench in Room 8 of the Archives Complex. This suggests that these tablets were stored together in the Archives Complex, and consequently makes it virtually certain that Cn 4 and An 5 are related.[100] Thus, *sa-ni-jo* and *ku-ri-sa-to* certainly indicate the same individuals in both texts. One other potential shepherd, *to-ro-wi*(*-ka*), also appears on An 5. He has flocks at *ma-ro* in Cn 131 and Cn 655, but is recorded as being at *te-ko-to-a-pe* on An 5. While we cannot be certain that the same individual is meant, the fact that nearly half of the entries on An 5 appear in the Cn series suggests that prosopographical identification is probable.[101]

Three herders from the Cn series appear in the *o-ka* texts: *Komāwens* (*ko-ma-we*), *Maratheus* (*ma-ra-te-u*), and *po-te-u*. *Komāwens*, as discussed above (section 2.4), is a herder of 16 male pigs on Cn 925.1 and also appears on An 519.10, where he is associated with the *o-ka* of *ke-wo-no*. One of the officers in this unit is *po-te-u*, who has eight female pigs on Cn 45. It is very probable that these herders are the same men as in the *o-ka* texts, especially since herders of pigs are relatively rare. *Maratheus* also appears as an officer on An 657.7 and as a shepherd of 10 female sheep on Cn 328.5; the lack of contextual associations makes prosopographical identification

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[99] *e-re-e-we* is probably not a personal name on An 723; based on analogy with An 209 (a text in the same hand and stylus) it should be a nominative plural designation modifying the individuals named below. This word is also probably a designation on Jn 881.1 (Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 49).

[100] On the findspots of the tablets numbered 1–36, see Pluta 1998, p. 236.

[101] Of course, Cn 4 records contributions of sheep, while Cn 131 and 655 record the presence of palatial flocks, and they are therefore fundamentally different texts in terms of their administrative purpose. On the other hand, only individuals who held flocks of sheep, probably substantial numbers in most cases, would have been required to make payments to the palatial sphere, and therefore individuals in both types of texts are shepherds in the sense that they possess flocks of animals that the palace controls at some level.

difficult to prove, although it is at least plausible in light of the probable matches of *Komāwens* and *po-te-u*.

A fourth connection between the Cn series and the *o-ka* texts is provided by Cn 3, in which contingents of men from the *o-ka* texts send single oxen to *Diwieus* (*di-wi-je-u*), who is a *hek*$^{w}$*etās* on An 656.[102] *Diwieus* himself does not appear as a herder in this text, but probably as an agent who collects animals for a religious ceremony, much as **we-da-ne-u* does on Cn 418.[103] While the prosopographical identification of *Diwieus* is certain, based on the strong associations between Cn 3 and the *o-ka* texts, Cn texts recording animals in the context of ceremonial consumption are not of the same type as the majority of Cn texts, which deal with the management of palatial flocks. Since the shepherds who appear in the *o-ka* texts appear in the latter category of Cn texts, we certainly cannot use the appearance of *Diwieus* in Cn 3 to argue for the likelihood of prosopographical identification of herders with men from the *o-ka* texts.

Two shepherds appear on An 209, a text that lists the names of 13 men designated as Korinthian *statēres* (*ko-ri-si-jo ta-te-re*). This term (*ta-te-re*) would appear to be a title or occupation, unfortunately of uncertain meaning; it may be related to the word *ta-to-mo* (σταθμός), which means "sheep pen" in the Cn series.[104] Two of the first three entries of An 209 are *Lāmnios* (*ra-mi-ni-jo*) and *Ophelestās* (*o-pe-re-ta*); the former appears on Cn 328 and 719, the latter on Cn 655. Since Cn 719 forms a tight group of Cn texts with Cn 131 and 655 (see Table 3.11 above), and both shepherds appear in adjacent lines at the top of An 209, their prosopographical identification is probable. Moreover, Lane has shown that there is a network of prosopographical connections between An 657, An 209, Cn 328, and An 218 (see Table 2.6): *Maratheus* (*ma-ra-te-u*), who appears with *Lāmnios* (*ra-mi-ni-jo*) on Cn 328, recurs on An 657 and Aq 218 with *a-e-ri-qo-ta*, who appears on An 209 with *Lāmnios* (*ra-mi-ni-jo*).[105]

Three possible prosopographical identifications remain to be discussed. *e-re-e-we*, the name of a herder on Cn 1197, is probably not a dative singular personal name on An 723, but rather a nominative plural title or occupational designation. A herder on Cn 40 named *ma-ri-ti-wi-jo* appears on An

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[102] The verb in the header of Cn 3, *-i-je-si*, is most plausibly interpreted as *ἵενσι "they send," from ἵημι (Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 276–277, s.v. *i-je-to-qe*; Palaima 1989, p. 116).

[103] Palaima 1989, pp. 116–118; Nikoloudis 2008b.

[104] Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 409; Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 141; Aura Jorro 1993, p. 320, s.v. *ta-te-re*, p. 321, s.v. *ta-to-mo*.

[105] Lane 2003, § 3.2.1.6.

594, a personnel register closely associated with An 39.[106] The only possible connection to the herder is that on Cn 40 *ma-ri-ti-wi-jo* has a "collector," *Alksoitās* (*a-ko-so-ta*), who also appears on An 39. If the herder:"collector" relationship is socially meaningful, as it seems that it should be, then it is possible that *ma-ri-ti-wi-jo* the shepherd is the same man as in An 594. Finally, there is *tu-ru-we-u*, a herder on Cn 254, who appears as a member of the *geronsiā* of **ta-we-si-jo* on An 261. No other shepherd from the Cn series appears on this text, although *qo-te-ro* (An 261.3) is labeled an *a₃-ki-pa-ta* on Ae 108, a term which probably means "goatherd."[107] The prosopographical identifications of *tu-ru-we-u* and *qo-te-ro* are tenuous, however, due to a lack of strong connections.

*Table* 3.12: Herders in the An series

| Name | Cn text(s) | An text | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| *di-wi-je-u* | Cn 3 | An 656 | Certain |
| *e-re-e-u* | Cn 1197 | An 723 | Tenuous; probably not a personal name on An 723 |
| *ko-ma-we* | Cn 925 | An 519 | Probable |
| *ku-ri-sa-to* | Cn 4 | An 5 | Certain |
| *ma-ra-te-u* | Cn 328 | An 657 | Possible |
| *ma-ri-ti-wi-jo* | Cn 40 | An 594 | Possible |
| *o-pe-re-ta* | Cn 655 | An 209 | Probable |
| *po-te-u* | Cn 45 | An 519 | Probable |
| *ra-mi-ni-jo* | Cn 328, 719 | An 209 | Probable |
| *sa-ni-jo* | Cn 4 | An 5 | Certain |
| *to-ro-wi*(*-ka*) | Cn 131, 655 | An 5 | Probable |
| *tu-ru-we-u* | Cn 254 | An 261 | Tenuous |

### 3.2.4. *Herders and the M- and N- Series*

There are also several names of shepherds that recur in the Na and Nn series, texts that record flax against various individuals and toponyms as part of the overall system of taxation.[108] On Cn 1197, a fragmentary text that records small numbers of male sheep at *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, the final two (of four) individuals listed both appear in Na or Nn texts. *e-sa-re-u* appears on three

[106] Olivier 1960, pp. 77, 143–145; all the other entries on An 594 also appear on An 39.

[107] Aura Jorro 1985, p. 135 s.v. *a₃-ki-pa-ta*. The first element would appear to be αἴξ, but the second element is obscure. Ae 108 records that *qo-te-ro* watches over the quadrupeds of *ta-ra-ma-ta*.

[108] Foster 1981.

separate Na texts (Na 195, 395, and 568), while *e-re-e-u* appears on Na 262 and Nn 831. In all three Na texts in which *e-sa-re-u* appears, he has the title *ke-u-po-da* and is the subject of the verb *e-re-u-te-ro-se*; he is apparently an agent responsible for giving tax exemptions from the flax impost.[109] *e-re-e-u*, on the other hand, appears as a recipient of tax exemptions on Na 262 (10 units of flax), but is not exempted from a tax of two units of flax on Nn 831. It is worth noting that only 12 personal names appear in the Na and Nn texts combined, and since *e-re-e-u* and *e-sa-re-u* appear in adjacent lines in Cn 1197, we may be fairly certain that these are the same individuals despite the fact that they play different roles in the Na/Nn texts. *e-sa-re-u* is moreover located at *a-si-ja-ti-ja* on Cn 1197 and at *sa-ma-ri-wa* on Na 195; if *sa-ma-ri-wa* is connected to *sa-ma-ra*, then these toponyms would be proximate.[110] The prosopographical identification is strengthened by the fact that **we-da-ne-u*, who appears in seven Cn texts as a "collector," also appears on two Na texts (Na 856, 1041) as a taxpayer.

A shepherd probably also appears in the Mb/Mn series: an incomplete name *ka-ra-*[ appears on an Mn text as an individual with whom there is an unpreserved number of textiles of type **146* (Mn 1412.1), and there is a shepherd named *ka-ra-wa-ni-ta* on Cn 45. The "collector" of his flock on Cn 45 is *a-ke-o*, a man who himself appears on two Mb texts, probably as a recipient of textiles (Mb 1378, 1434).[111] Shelmerdine, noting this, has described the prosopographical identification of *ka-ra-wa-ni-ta* and *ka-ra-*[ "an attractive possibility."[112] Because of the fragmentary nature of the name on Mn 1412 (*ka-ra-*[), I only consider prosopographical identification possible. The prosopographical identification of *a-ke-o* (Cn and Mb) is probable.

### 3.2.5. *Herders and the Sa Series*

The Sa series are leaf-shaped texts with the wheel (ROTA) ideogram; where personal names appear, they are in the genitive case and appear to indicate the individuals responsible for the production or repair of chariot wheels.[113]

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109 The argument of Killen 1995c that *ke-u-po-da* is a personal name and *e-sa-re-u* a title do not affect my argument, since the two are virtually synonymous with each other at Pylos. See the Appendix, s.v. *e-sa-re-u*.

110 Sainer 1976, p. 56.

111 Shelmerdine 2002, pp. 317–318, argues that both Mb 1378 and Mb 1434 are probably texts recording allocations of textiles (**146*) from the palace to individuals.

112 Shelmerdine 2002, p. 316.

113 Ventris and Chadwick 1956, pp. 373–375; 1973, pp. 518–519. The term *wo-ka* may be rendered as *wokhā*, "chariot," or as a *nomen actionis worgā*, "work" (see Aura Jorro 1993, p. 441, s.v. *wo-ka*). In the former case, the name would indicate the owner of the chariot, in

Two shepherds' names recur in the Sa series: *Hetew(w)aios* (*e-te-wa-jo*) and *Ertilāwos* (*e-ti-ra-wo*). This fact by itself is remarkable, since 20 names appear in the Sa series, of which only three appear outside of the Sa series. The third name that recurs is **a-me-ja*, which appears in Sa 834 and Sh 736; the latter text deals with the refurbishment of armor. Given the close semantic connection between these texts—Sh 736 records the refurbishment (*o-pa*) of pairs of armor (*to-ra-ke*) by **a-me-ja* and Sa 834 a pair of chariot wheels by **a-me-ja*—it is highly likely that **a-me-ja* is the same person in both texts.[114]

*Hetew(w)aios* (*e-te-wa-jo*) probably appears on two Cn texts (Cn 254, 600; on Cn 254 the entry is fragmentary, *e-te-wa*[ ), as well as on a fragmentary Xa text (Xa 639) where he appears at *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, the same place where he may hold a flock of 100 sheep on Cn 254.[115] This individual is responsible for work on two pairs of banded chariot wheels on Sa 769. *Ertilāwos* (*e-ti-ra-wo*) is also a herder at two locations (Cn 131, 655), and on Sa 1264 he is responsible for work on a single pair of banded chariot wheels. Only three names from the Sa series recur elsewhere, and only two recur in a context not having to do with manufacture of military equipment, yet both these individuals are potential matches with shepherds. This correspondence of functions suggests that probably the shepherds *Hetew(w)aios* and *Ertilāwos* are also responsible for the production or repair of chariot wheels.

### 3.2.6. *Herders and the E- Series*

There are 11 names that appear in the Cn texts and in landholding texts of the E- series (see Table 3.13). Three are "collectors," seven are herders, and one is *Diwieus* (*di-wi-je-u*). We may make prosopographical identifications with the "collectors" and the individuals in the E- series with certainty. The role of *Alksoitās* (*a-ko-so-ta*) as a land inspector at *a-ke-re-wa* in Eq 213 is consistent with his important managerial role; *Amphimēdēs* (*a-pi-me-de*) is given a highly privileged landholding (*e-to-ni-jo*) in the Eb/Ep series; and

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the latter, the individual responsible for the work on the chariot wheels. I prefer the latter interpretation for the following reason: the Sa series appears to be a single set of documents, as they were written by the same hand (H 26) and most were found in the same area (Bennett and Olivier 1973, p. 226). The purpose of these texts appears to monitor wheels that are serviceable (*we-je-ke-a*$_2$) and those that are not (*no-pe-re-a*$_2$). Since the term *wo-ka* only appears with wheels that are serviceable and never with those that are not, it is more likely that the personal names indicate the individual responsible for the repair work rather than the owners of the chariots. Duhoux 1976, pp. 126–128, makes a number of other persuasive arguments for reading *wo-ka* as *worgā*.

114 On Mycenaean *o-pa*, see Killen 1999a.

115 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 53. Xa 639 appears to record a deficit of a delivery by *e-te-wa-jo*.

**we-da-ne-u*'s servant holds land in the Es series, just as servants of *Amphimēdēs* hold land at *Sphagiānes* (*pa-ki-ja-ne*, Ep 539.10–12).[116] Both **we-da-ne-u* and *Diwieus* appear as recipients of grain in the Es series, which is consistent with their high statuses as a "collector" and *hek*ʷ*etās* respectively. Moreover, one of the landholders in the Es series is *Alektruōn* (*a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo*, alphabetic Ἀλεκτρυών), who is, like *Diwieus*, a *hek*ʷ*etās* in the *o-ka* set.

In the case of the herders, however, it is difficult to propose prosopographical identifications with any certainty. Of these, the most likely prosopographical identification is of *se-no*, a shepherd with multiple flocks (Cn 131 and 655) who appears as a landholder and contributor in the Es series. **we-da-ne-u* is the "collector" of *se-no* on Cn 655, and he also appears in the Es series, both as a recipient, and as the owner of a servant who is himself, like *se-no*, a landholder and contributor. We may therefore consider the prosopographical identification of the shepherd *se-no* with the landholder probable.

Two herders, *Aswios* (*a-si-wi-jo*) and *ko-ro*, potentially appear on Eq 146.[117] This tablet records the holdings of six named individuals, of whom four are *telestai*; one is a doctor (*i-ja-te, iātēr*, cf. ἰητήρ), and one is an *ị-qọ-na-to-mo*, a title of uncertain meaning but whose elements are probably the word for horse (*i-qo*) and *a-to-mo*, a title found elsewhere.[118] Although it is striking that two shepherds may appear on a text with so few entries, *Aswios* and *ko-ro* appear in separate sections separated by three blank lines: the former is designated as an *ị-qọ-na-to-mo*, the latter as a *telestās*. Without a better understanding of the relationship between the two sections on Eq 146, we cannot be so certain that the landholders are the same individuals as the shepherds of the same name; their prosopographical identification is considered possible.

*e-do-mo-ne-u* and *po-te-u* both appear in the En/Eo series. The former is a servant of the god who holds a lease from *pa-ra-ko*, while the latter is one of the *telestai* of *Sphagiānes*. As noted by Lindgren, *po-te-u* appears on En 467 with two other individuals, *pi-ri-ta-wo*, the royal potter, and *Thisg*ʷ*aios* (*ti-qa-jo*), who is designated in the corresponding Eo text (Eo 278) as a

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116 On the responsibilities of *a-ko-so-ta*, see Nightingale 2008. The *e-to-ni-jo* landholding's privileged status is reviwed by Lupack 2006, pp. 65–66, 74–76.

117 Some have doubted that *ko-ro* is a personal name on Eq 146, and have taken it as the genitive plural *khōrōn* (χώρων), "of the lands" (Aura Jorro 1985, p. 384, s.v. *ko-ro* II). However, *ko-ro* appears in the context of the formula used in Eq 146 for individual entries, except for two elements (*o-da-a*2 and *e-ke*), both of which can be supplied from the header, as *ko-ro* would be the first entry after the header (Palmer 1963, p. 430).

118 Chadwick 1979, p. 25.

herdsman (*po-me, poimēn*, ποιμήν).[119] Although the relationship between herders, defined as individuals directly responsible for flocks in the Cn series, and the Mycenaean term *po-me* is not well understood, it is clear that there is some overlap (see above, section 3.2.2). Nevertheless, *Thisgʷaios* does not appear in the Cn series. Prosopographical identification is hypothetical for *po-te-u*. It is probable for *e-do-mo-ne-u*, on the other hand, based on his occurrences elsewhere (see above, sections 2.4, 3.1.10).

Finally, we may consider *i-ma-di-jo* and *Kotullōn* (*ko-tu-ro*$_2$) together, since both individuals appear in Cn 436, the Jn series (Jn 310 and Jn 431 respectively), and landholding texts. *i-ma-di-jo* leases land to a weaver on Ea 29, while *Kotullōn* is prominent in the Eb/Ep series: he leases *ke-ke-me-na* land (Eb 499/Ep 301), holds a *ka-ma* plot (Eb 839/Ep 613), and leases land to another man (Eb 1347). There are only three names at Pylos that appear in the Cn, Jn, and E- series: *e-do-mo-ne-u*, *i-ma-di-jo*, and *Kotullōn*. Unfortunately, each appears in a separate landholding series. While there are many individuals who appear in both the Eb/Ep and En/Eo series, only two appear in both the Ea series and the Eb/Ep or En/Eo series at *Sphagiānes*, and in only one case can prosopographical identification be proposed with certainty (*o-pe-te-re-u*; see below section 4.2). Thus, there is little connecting the Ea series with other landholding texts. The prosopographical identification of *i-ma-di-jo* and *Kotullōn* is therefore classed as possible.

*Table* 3.13: Herders in the E- series

| Name | Role in Cn series | Cn text(s) | E- text(s) | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *a-ko-so-ta* | "Collector" | Cn 40, 45, 453, 599, 702, 719 | Eq 213 | Certain |
| *a-pi-me-de* | "Collector" | Cn 655 | Eb 473, 1187, 1199 = Ep 539 | Certain |
| *we-da-ne-u* | "Collector" | Cn 40, 45, 254, 418, 600, 643, 655 | Es series | Certain |
| *di-wi-je-u* | *Ereutēr* | Cn 3 | Es series | Certain |
| *a-si-wi-jo* | Herder | Cn 285 | Eq 146 | Possible |
| *e-do-mo-ne-u* | Herder | Cn 925 | En 609 = Eo 224 | Probable |
| *i-ma-di-jo* | Herder | Cn 436 | Ea 29 | Possible |
| *ko-ro* | Herder | Cn 131 | Eq 146 | Possible |
| *ko-tu-ro*$_2$ | Herder | Cn 436 | Eb 499, 938, 1347 = Ep 301 | Possible |
| *po-te-u* | Herder | Cn 45 | En 467 = Eo 268 | Possible |
| *se-no* | Herder | Cn 131, 655 | Es series | Probable |

[119] Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 99, vol. 2, p. 184.

### 3.2.7. *Herders and the Fn Series*

Five names from the Cn series recur in the Fn series, in which individuals are allocated grain (see Table 3.14).[120] Unfortunately in most cases there is little to suggest prosopographical identification. The reading *a-ḳọ*-[·]-*ta* on Fn 837 is almost certainly to be read as *a-ko-so-ta*, given the close connection that Fn 837 has with An 39, where the name *Alksoitās* (*a-ko-so-ta*) appears (see below, section 4.3). The other matches between the Cn and Fn series are tenuous. Although three herders appear on Fn 324, they do not cluster together on that text, nor do they appear to be connected. Although *Alksoitās* and *pe-qe-u* appear on the same Cn text (Cn 45), they are not associated there; indeed, *a-ke-o* is the "collector" connected to the flock herded by *pe-qe-u*. These prosopographical identifications are therefore tenuous.

*Table* 3.14: Herders in the Fn series

| Name | Cn text(s) | Fn text | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-ko-so-ta* | Cn 40, 45, 453, 599, 702, 719 | Fn 837 (*a-ḳọ*-[·]-*ta*) | Probable |
| *a-*64-jo* | Cn 1287 | Fn 324 | Tenuous |
| *ke-ro-u-te-u* | Cn 600 | Fn 324 (*ke-ro-u-te*[) | Tenuous |
| *ke-sa-me-no* | Cn 131 | Fn 324 | Tenuous |
| *pe-qe-u* | Cn 45 | Fn 79 | Tenuous |

## 3.3. Conclusions

The analysis in this chapter confirms the hypothesis from Chapter Two that a number of smiths and herders can be identified with some confidence with individuals in other documents at Pylos. Individuals from both groups may appear more than once in the same capacity: that is, smiths may appear in more than one Jn text and herders may appear in more than one Cn text. A significant number of smiths are also herders: 16 smiths can be identified with herders with certainty, and 11 other matches are probable, out of a total of 30 possible matches. The large number of certain and probable matches must be due in part to the fact that the texts of the Cn and Jn series tend to be longer, page-shaped documents in a relatively good state of preservation.

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[120] The grain disbursed in the Fn series is represented by the HORD ideogram (*121), which is traditionally identified as barley, but is probably wheat according to Palmer 1992; Halstead 1995 and Killen 2004a defend the traditional identification.

Smiths also appear in other contexts associated generally with labor. Three heads of *geronsiai* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) and one member appear in the Jn series, suggesting that the *geronsiā* is itself a work group, one composed of or supervised by "elders" (*gerontes*), perhaps referring to master craftsmen. Three smiths certainly and two probably appear in An 340, which probably records a work group under the supervision of the smith *a-ta-o*. Another four smiths probably appear on An 1281—a fifth is classed as possible because the name is not completely preserved—in the context of religious work groups associated with the deity Potnia. Three smiths are possibly to be identified with men on An 172, probably again in a craft context.

Other prosopographical matches indicate that some smiths had other, more elevated roles. Nine smiths' names appear in the military coast guard of the *o-ka* texts, and most can be identified with some confidence (two with certainty, four probably, and three possibly). Most are officers, but one is a commander of a unit (*du-wo-jo*), another may be a *hek$^{w}$etās* or is at least accorded a patronymic, which is otherwise limited to the *hek$^{w}$etai* (*ko-ma-we*), and a third (*pe-re-qo-ni-jo*) appears as the patronymic of the *hek$^{w}$etās* named *Arehios/Arēios* (*a-re-i-jo*). The *hek$^{w}$etai* are considered to be among the highest of the Mycenaean palatial elite, and even the officers are considered by Chadwick to come from the "local governing class,"[121] so the presence of smiths in their company runs counter to the general position that smiths are low-status laborers.[122] Sixteen names from the Jn series also recur in landholding documents, with three matches classed as certain, four probable, and nine possible. The certain matches include the royal armorer (*a-tu-ko*) and two *telestai* (*a-da-ma-o* and *wa-na-ta-jo*). The probable matches include a priest (*sa-ke-re-u*) and the cowherd (**qo-qo-ta*) of the *lāwāgetās* and perhaps the father of a *hek$^{w}$etās* (*pe-re-qo-no*).

Herders have similar prosopographical profiles to smiths, when their names recur in other series. Indeed, 27 herders can be shown to be smiths with certainty or high probability, suggesting that these groups are similar with respect to their social status and role within the palatial administration. About 30 % of smiths' and shepherds' names appear in more than one tablet series. Herders often recur in texts that seem to relate to animal husbandry, although only one (*ke-ro-wo*) is explicitly labeled as such (*po-me*, alphabetic ποιμήν). Two herders probably appear in the military coast guard set, both in the same unit (*ko-ma-we* and *po-te-u*; An 519). Possibly the shepherd *ma-ra-te-u* is also an officer on An 657 of the same set. Like smiths,

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121 Chadwick 1976, p. 175.

122 See, e.g., Killen 1979a; 1984, p. 61; 2001a, p. 173; Hiller 2002, p. 195.

herders appear in craft contexts: two can probably be identified with individuals responsible for work on chariot wheels (*e-te-wa-jo, ti-ra-wo*). Herders also appear as landholders in the E- series, although it is in some cases difficult to argue for prosopographical identification: of the seven shepherds, only two (*se-no, e-do-mo-ne-u*) can be identified with the landowners with some probability. Three herders appear in the M- and N- series: *e-re-e-u* apparently owns land in respect of which he is liable to pay units of flax (although he is exempted on Na 262), *e-sa-re-u* is an agent who provides tax exemptions, and *ka-ra-wa-ni-ta* is probably a recipient of textiles on Mn 1412.

The varied activities of some herders suggests that they, like the smiths, are more than simply low-status, full-time herders in the field as they are usually imagined to be.[123] I argue in Chapter Five that they are actually herding supervisors responsible for ensuring that palatial flocks are managed properly, without necessarily being directly involved in animal husbandry.[124] Metallurgy is generally a part-time activity, however, in contrast to animal husbandry. Consequently, it is likely (although not certain) that most of the smiths in the Jn series are directly involved in craft production, but as one part of a suite of economic practices. The involvement of smiths and herders in many and varied administrative practices, I argue in Chapter Five, shows that these individuals were members of the elite, since only individuals with considerable resources would have been capable of managing multiple responsibilities.

123 Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 123; Baumbach 1983, pp. 5–6.
124 A similar conclusion was reached independently by Kyriakidis 2008.

## CHAPTER FOUR

# SOLDIERS AND LANDOWNERS

This chapter examines the other major groups of named individuals at Pylos. Chief among these are military officers and landowners, but I also examine individuals from other textual series, many of whom are recipients of various goods (rations, textiles, and hides) from palatial stores. My starting point is the celebrated *o-ka* set. This group of five tablets records the placement of individuals and groups in specific places for coast-guarding duty.[1] The header declares that "thus the watchers are guarding the coastal regions."[2] These documents have attracted considerable attention, in large part because it seems likely that many of the named individuals in the *o-ka* set recur in other documents at Pylos.[3]

## 4.1. The *o-ka* Texts

The *o-ka* texts are a subset within the An series, page-shaped tablets characterized by the ideograms **100* (VIR, man) and **101* (MUL, woman).[4] The An series comprises a diverse group of documents that deal with various personnel groups. Altogether, it preserves 169 complete and certain personal names, of which more than half (n = 87) recur in other series at Pylos. A significant number of these personal names are found in the *o-ka* set: there are 66 named individuals from these tablets, of which 25 appear in other textual series, and another five who appear in the related rower texts An 610 and An 724 (Table 4.4). The named individuals in the *o-ka* texts fall into three categories: commanders, officers, and *hek$^{w}$etai* (see above, section 3.1.3).

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[1] On the *o-ka* texts, see Mühlestein 1956, 1983; Ventris and Chadwick 1956, pp. 183–194; 1973, pp. 427–432; Palmer 1977; Deger-Jalkotzy 1978; Lang 1990. Their military nature is denied by Uchitel 1984.

[2] The header reads *o-u-ru-to , o-pi-a$_2$-ra , e-pi-ko-wo* (An 657.1), *hō wruntoi opihala epikowoi*.

[3] Lane 2003.

[4] Bennett and Olivier 1973, p. 57.

Names from the *o-ka* texts recur in a variety of different administrative contexts (Table 4.4), including bronze production and animal husbandry. As Lang pointed out, there is no *prima facie* reason to exclude that the same individuals are meant, since "There is … a difference between where a man lives and carries on his regular work and where he serves his country in time of need."[5] In Chapter Three, I discussed the prosopographical identification of smiths and shepherds who appear in the *o-ka* texts and concluded that in many cases it was probable or certain (sections 3.1.3, 3.2.3 above). The other major category of overlap is landholding, which is discussed below.

The strongest prosopographical links connect the *o-ka* texts to a diptych of two tablets (Aq 64, 218) that together form a single document concerned with landholding.[6] As many as 11 personal names may appear on both sets of texts (see Table 4.1; *di-wi-je-u* is the only questionable entry).

*Table* 4.1: Individuals in the *o-ka* set and the Aq diptych

| Name | *o-ka* text | Title/role | Aq text |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-e-ri-qo-ta* | An 657.12 | *hek$^{w}$etās* | Aq 218.5 |
| *a$_{3}$-ko-ta* | An 657.14 | *hek$^{w}$etās* | Aq 218.6 |
| *di-wi-je-u* | An 656.9 | *hek$^{w}$etās* | Aq 218.2 |
| *ro-u-ko* | An 519.15 | *hek$^{w}$etās* | Aq 218.4 |
| *e-ko-me-na-ta* | An 661.9 | Commander | Aq 218.11 |
| *ku-ru-me-no* | An 654.1 | Commander | Aq 64.5 |
| *e-ru-ta-ra* | An 654.2 | Officer | Aq 64.16 |
| *e-ta-wo-ne-u* | An 519.7 | Officer | Aq 64.13 |
| *ma-ra-te-u* | An 657.7 | Officer | Aq 218.15 |
| *pe-ri-me-de* | An 656.12 | Officer | Aq 64.7 |
| *po-ki-ro-qo* | An 654.12 | Officer | Aq 64.8 |

Five patronymics from the *o-ka* texts also recur on the Aq diptych (Table 4.2), and these allow us to recognize several other relationships between the entries on these texts.

[5] Lang 1988, p. 192.

[6] Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 175; 1973, pp. 422–424; Palmer 1963, pp. 142–144; Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 190–193. On Aq 64 and 218 as a diptych, see Bennett 1957.

*Table* 4.2: Patronymics in the *o-ka* set and the Aq diptych

| Patronymic | Name (An) | *o-ka* text | Name (Aq) | Aq text |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* | *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* | An 654.8–9 | *ne-qe-u* | Aq 64.15 |
| *de-wi-jo* | *ko-ma-we* | An 519.10 | *pa-ku-ro$_2$* | Aq 218.10 |
| *ke-ki-jo* | *a-e-ri-qo-ta* | An 657.11–12 | [ ] | Aq 218.12[7] |
| *a-da-ra-ti-jo* | *ḍị-ko-na-ro* | An 656.14 | *a$_3$-ko-ta* | Aq 218.6 |
| *ku-sa-me-ni-jo* | *ro-u-ko* | An 519.15–16 | *ro-*]*u-ko* | Aq 218.4 |

The dense web of connections between the individual entries in the *o-ka* set and the Aq diptych leave little doubt that the recurring names and patronymics refer to the same individuals.[8] It is unfortunate that the purpose of the Aq diptych is unclear. It clearly has something to do with land-holding. The term *mo-ro-qa*, which appears on Aq 64, is probably a land-holding title, and the term *aktonoi* (*a-ko-to-no*) on Aq 218 indicates men who do not have plots of land.[9] Halstead has recently proposed that these texts have to do with the lending out of pairs of palatial plow oxen to individuals, probably for large grain-growing estates, along with the fodder necessary to maintain the oxen.[10]

The relationship between the individuals in these documents is complex and seems to involve kinship. In three cases (*a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* and *ne-qe-u*, *ko-ma-we* and *pa-ku-ro$_2$*, *ḍị-ko-na-ro* and *a$_3$-ko-ta*), shared patronymics show that one brother appears in the *o-ka* set while the other brother appears in the Aq diptych. The same familial relationship seems to be indicated by the phrase *pe-ri-me-de-o , i-*ẹ̣6̣5̣ , po-so-ri-jo-no* on Aq 64.7. The word *i-*65* corresponds to *ἰύς, cf. υἱύς, an archaic form of υἱός, "son."[11] However, since both the personal name following it and the one preceding it are in the genitive, the interpretation is uncertain. It seems most likely that *po-so-ri-jo-no* is a

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7 This patronymic may also modify *a-e-ri-qo-ta* on Aq 218.5. The tablet is damaged where the patronymic would appear after his personal name, but there is space for three signs, the last of which may be a *jo*.

8 Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 190–193.

9 The term *mo-ro-qa* is usually interpreted as *mo*(*i*)*rokkʷās*, possessor of a share [of land] (Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 458–459, s.v. *mo-ro-qa*, with references), but its status as a landholding term is doubted by Thompson 2006, p. 239. On *a-ko-to-no*, see Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 51–52, s.v. *a-ko-to-no*.

10 Piteros et al. 1990, pp. 162–163; Halstead 1999a, pp. 323–324; the Knossos Ch texts are interpreted in the same way by Halstead. This interpretation of the Aq diptych is challenged by Killen 1992, p. 377. Melena (1987a, pp. 390–391) interprets the *ZE* as an acrophonic abbreviation referring to the men recorded in the Aq diptych.

11 Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 292–293, s.v. *i-*65*; Lejeune 1996, pp. 165–168; Melena 2000, pp. 36–38; forthcoming.

scribal mistake for the nominative (*po-so-ri-jo*).[12] In yet another entry on Aq 218.11, the term **34-te* (in the entry ]*ka-re-u* , *e-ko-me-na-ta-o* , **34-te*) may also indicate a kin relationship.[13]

It is also possible that non-kinship relations are involved. The entry *me-wi* , *e-ru-ta-ra* , *me-ta-pa* , *ki-e-wo* on Aq 64.16 is problematic, as it seems to include three personal names (*me-ta-pa* is a well-known toponym): the name *me-wi* must be nominative, *ki-e-wo* genitive. Ventris and Chadwick proposed that *me-wi* is a mistake for *me-wi-jo* and read "*Eruthrās* the younger, at *me-ta-pa*, [son] of *Khiheus*."[14] There is no parallel for the application of the adjective *me-wi-jo* (*me-u-jo*) to personal names, however. Alternatively, one could take *e-ru-ta-ra* as being in the dative case, reading "*me-wi*, for *e-ru-ta-ra*, at *me-ta-pa*, [son] of *ki-e-u*."[15] In any case, we are probably justified in supposing that *Eruthrās* (*e-ru-ta-ra*) the officer on An 654 and the man on Aq 64 are one and the same individual, and that *me-wi*'s presence on that text somehow depends on *Eruthrās*.

The presence of *Khiheus* (*ki-e-u*) on Aq 64 alerts us to this tablet's connection with other military rower texts, namely An 610 and An 724. These tablets have the same format and scribal hand as the *o-ka* texts, and record rowers who are present or absent for duty. *Khiheus* appears on An 724 as responsible for a missing man at *a-ke-re-wa*, immediately after the entry for *Statig$^w$oweus* (*ta-ti-qo-we-u*), a name that belongs to an *o-ka* commander on An 654. An 610 and An 724 are also linked to each other by the presence of the personal name *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo* on both. Thus, it appears on contextual,

[12] I find it more likely that *po-so-ri-jo-no* is a mistake for the nominative, as when personal names are genitive modifiers of titles (such as *do-e-ro*), they almost always precede it (Lejeune 1996, p. 167). Moreover, as the nominative this name is *Psoliōn*, writing the extra sign *no* is a more likely mistake than writing *pe-ri-me-de-o* for *Perimēdēs*, since the sign *no* represents the final consonant of the nominative *Psoliōn*, and could be interpreted as an attempt to represent the final consonant (for mistakes of this kind, see Chadwick 1987a, p. 80 and n. 10). It is highly unlikely that *po-so-ri-jo-no* modifies the title *te-ra-ni-ja*, as such titles, on analogy with the preceding titles *mo-ro-qa*, *ko-re-te*, and *e-qe-o* , *a-to-mo* are nominative in apposition to the personal name of each entry.

[13] Lindgren (1973, vol. 2, pp. 162–163; cf. Perpillou 1984) proposed the reading *phratēr* ("brother") for **34-te*, but the most recent proposals for the value of **34/35* link it to *$^x$ai* (Melena 2000, pp. 16–17; forthcoming) and we must therefore admit ignorance of its meaning. If ]*ka-re-u* on Aq 218 is the same person as *ạ-ke*[ ]*u* on An 661 (an officer in the *o-ka* of *e-ko-me-na-ta*), a prosopographical identification Lindgren (1973, vol. 2, p. 162) considers certain but I do not, then the term **34-te* could refer to their official relationship in the military sphere.

[14] Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 176.

[15] *me-wi-jo* (or *me-u-jo*) is only used to modify unnamed boys and girls (*ko-wo/-a*) or objects (Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 447–448, s.v. *me-u-jo*).

scribal, and semantic grounds that the *o-ka* texts are linked to the rower texts An 610 and An 724, and we may therefore view the prosopographical identification of the names on those texts as certain.

The connection between the *o-ka* texts, the Aq diptych, and the rower texts illustrates how complex networks of prosopographical links can be. Yet there is an even wider context to the connections between the *o-ka* set and the Aq diptych that includes prosopographical links to three other tablets: Jo 438, An 192, and On 300 (see Table 4.3).[16] As Lindgren notes, of the 29 individuals in Jo 438, 18 recur elsewhere; five are in the first section of Aq 64 alone, and of these men three appear in the *o-ka* texts.[17] There can be little doubt, then, that all these names represent the same individuals.[18]

*Table* 4.3: An 192, On 300, Jo 438, Aq 64, Aq 218, and the *o-ka* texts

| Title(s) | Name | *o-ka* | Aq diptych | Jo 438 | An 192 | On 300 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *hek$^{w}$etās* | *$a_3$-ko-ta* | × | × | | | |
| | *a-e-ri-qo-ta* | × | × | | × | |
| | *ro-u-ko* | × | × | | | |
| *o-ka* commander | *e-ko-me-na-ta* | × | × | | | |
| | *ne-da-wa-ta* | × | | × | | |
| *korētēr* | *pe-ri-mo* | | × | × | | × |
| | *te-po-se-u* | | | × | | × |
| *o-ka* commander and *korētēr* | *ku-ru-me-no* | × | × | | × | |
| *o-ka* officer | *e-ke-me-de* | × | | × | | |
| | *e-ta-wo-ne-u* | × | × | | | |
| | *ma-ra-te-u* | × | × | | | |
| | *pe-ri-me-de* | × | × | | | |
| | *po-ki-ro-qo* | × | × | × | | |
| *dāmokoros* | *au-ke-wa* | | | × | × | ?[19] |
| *du-ma* | *du-ni-jo* | | | | × | × |
| - | *ru-ro* | | × | × | | |
| | *a-pi-$a_2$-ro* | | | | × | × |
| | *po-si-ri-jo* | | × | × | | |

[16] Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 190–193.
[17] Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 191.
[18] See too Chadwick 2002, p. 34.
[19] Ta 711 records an inventory taken when *au-ke-wa* was made *da-mo-ko-ro*. The fact that this individual appears along with other palatial officers in An 192 and Jo 438 makes it certain that the same person is meant. The *da-mo-ko-ro* on On 300.7 may be *au-ke-wa* himself, although the fact that Ta 711 was found in Room 7 of the Archives Complex suggests that his appointment was a recent one (An 192, On 300, and Jo 438 were all filed in Room 8). See Palaima 1995b.

One striking aspect of these connections is that the texts themselves do not serve similar administrative functions. The *o-ka* texts record military preparations along the coast; the Aq diptych's precise function is unclear but is somehow related to landholding; An 192 is a simple personnel register; On 300 probably records payments of animal hides to individuals variously identified by name and title; and Jo 438 records payments of gold from individuals to the palatial authority.[20] What all of the individuals who appear in these texts seem to have in common is that they are individuals of considerable importance to the palace.[21] This importance is sometimes expressed by an official title, but often it is not.

Although the precise administrative function of An 192 (Figure 2.2), if there was any, is difficult to determine, clusters of related names clearly appear on the text. The first and third names listed, *Amphihalos* (*a-pi-a*$_2$*-ro*) and *du-ni-jo du-ma*, both appear on On 300 and in the Ea series. The 10th and 12th entries, *ta-ra-to* and *Pēlek*$^w$*hontās* (*pe-re-qo-ta*), both appear in the En/Eo landholding texts; indeed, on En 659/Eo 444, *ta-ra*$_2$*-to* (a variant spelling of *ta-ra-to*) even holds a plot of land from *Pēlek*$^w$*hontās*.[22] Thus, there does seem to be some clustering of linked names on An 192 that is suggestive of a prosopographical organization to the record, comparable to the patterns we have observed elsewhere.

Moreover, as Lindgren notes, it is certain from the use of his title that *pe-re-qo-ta pa-da-je-*[*u*] on An 192 is the same individual as the landholder *pe-*]*ṛẹ-qo-ta pa-de-we-ụ* on Ep 613.10.[23] This landholder is also one of the *telestai* at *Sphagiānes* (*pa-ki-ja-ne*). Thus, we can be certain that these two recurring names can be identified as the same individuals; the same is true of *Amphihalos* and *du-ni-jo* from An 192, On 300, and the Ea series.

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[20] It is unclear whether the hides on On 300 are being given to these individuals by the state or vice versa. The entries in the first paragraph relate to the Hither Province and are in the dative of recipient (*ko-re-te-ri*), while the entries in the second paragraph relate to the Further Province and are in the nominative (*ko-re-te, te-po-se-u*). Palmer (1963, p. 374) argues that this suggests "that the personalities of the two provinces are treated in different ways." Another possibility might be that the scribe shifted from the dative to the nominative of rubric.

[21] Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 178; Carlier 1999, p. 192.

[22] The fact that *ta-ra-to* = *ta-ra*$_2$*-to* is proved by the fact that the name of this servant of the god is spelled *ta-ra-to* on Eo 247.6, an entry which corresponds to En 74.15, where it is spelled *ta-ra*$_2$*-to*.

[23] Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 92.

*Table* 4.4: Individuals in the *o-ka* set who recur elsewhere

| Name | *o-ka* text | Other text(s) | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| *mu-to-na* | An 519.3 | Jn 706.7 | Probable |
| *wa-tu-wa-o-ko/ wa-tu-o-ko* | An 519.3 | Ea 136 | Tenuous |
| *ka-ke-u* | An 519.6 | Jn 750.8 | Probable |
| *e-ta-wo-ne-u* | An 519.7 | Aq 64.13 | Certain |
| *po-te-u* | An 519.7 | Cn 45.13, En 467.3 = Eo 268 | Probable (Cn), Possible (E-) |
| *ko-ma-we* | An 519.10 | Cn 925.1, Jn 750.9 | Certain (Jn), Probable (Cn) |
| *ro-u-ko* | An 519.15 | Aq 218.4 | Certain |
| *ku-ru-me-no* | An 654.1 | Aq 64.5 | Certain |
| *a-ti-ja-wo* | An 654.2 | Jn 845.12 | Possible |
| *e-ru-ta-ra* | An 654.2 | Aq 64.16 | Certain |
| *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* | An 654.8 | Es 650.2, Es 649.1, Es 644.2 | Certain |
| *ta-ti-qo-we-u* | An 654.11 | An 724.8 | Certain |
| *pe-ri-no* | An 654.12 | Jn 706.3 | Possible |
| *po-ki-ro-qo* | An 654.12 | Aq 64.8, Jo 438.22 | Certain |
| *di-wi-je-u* | An 656.2 | Cn 3.2, Es series, Aq 218.2 | Certain |
| *e-ri-ko-wo* | An 656.2 | Ep 212.2, Jn 845.7, Jn 927.11 | Probable (Jn), Possible (E-) |
| *pe-re-qo-no* | An 656.6 | Ea 270, Jn 605.10, Jn 725.3 | Possible |
| *du-wo-jo* | An 656.11 | Jn 750.12, Vn 34.9 | Certain (Jn), Probable (Vn) |
| *pe-ri-me-de* | An 656.12 | Aq 64.7 | Certain |
| *pu$_2$-ti-ja* | An 656.13 | Jn 601.3, An 340.10, Qa 1294 | Probable |
| *ka-e-sa-me-no* | An 656.19 | Vn 34.2 | Probable |
| *ma-re-u* | An 657.2 | An 661.10 | Certain |
| *ne-da-wa-ta* | An 657.6 | Jo 438.7 | Certain |
| *e-ke-me-de* | An 657.6 | Jo 438.8, Un 853 *v*.1 | Certain |
| *ma-ra-te-u* | An 657.7 | Aq 218.15, Cn 328.5 | Certain |
| *ta-ni-ko* | An 657.7 | An 1281.5 | Tenuous |
| *a-e-ri-qo-ta* | An 657.12 | An 192.7, An 209.6, Aq 218.5 | Certain, Tenuous (An 209) |
| *a$_3$-ko-ta* | An 657.14 | Aq 218.6 | Certain |
| *e-ko-me-na-ta* | An 661.9 | Aq 218.11 | Certain |

## 4.2. The Landholders of Pylos

Over 130 named individuals are known from documents that relate to land tenure. These tablets, collectively referred to as the E- series, belong to several distinct subseries that detail holdings of different types in various locales.[24] Most of the extant records concern landholdings at *Sphagiānes* (*pa-ki-ja-ne*), a district located in the vicinity of the palatial center.[25] *Sphagiānes* is a prominent religious center, and the landholders there are identified as holding offices with explicitly religious duties: there is a priest, priestess, key-bearer, and many male and female servants of the god.[26] In administrative terms, landholdings at *Sphagiānes* are recorded in two separate series, for each of which there are two recensions. The information from the palm-shaped Eb tablets (written by Hand 41) is recopied onto the page-shaped Ep series (written by Pylos' master scribe, Hand 1), just as the information from the Eo series (also written by Hand 41) is recopied onto the page-shaped En series (also by Hand 1).[27]

Other series record landholdings in other parts of the Pylian kingdom. The Ea series, composed primarily of leaf-shaped tablets, details landholdings in an unknown location, perhaps *ti-no*.[28] A number of the individuals recorded in this series are connected to the *lāwagetās*, perhaps corresponding to the influence of the *wanax* in the Eb/Ep and En/Eo series.[29] The Es series records the landholdings of 14 individuals in an unknown district of

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[24] Land tenure documents are treated in full detail by Del Freo 2005.

[25] Lupack 2008a, pp. 44–50.

[26] *Sphagiānes* (*pa-ki-ja-ne*) is a region to which religious offerings are sent (Fn 187.4, Fr 1209, Fr 1217.3, Fr 1233), rituals are performed in specific shrines (Tn 316), and feasts are held (Un 2). On the possibility that the feast recorded on Un 6 is also located in *pa-ki-ja-ne*, see Palaima 2004a, p. 109.

[27] Bennett 1956a, pp. 107–109; 1983, p. 41; Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 240; 1973, pp. 446–447. But see Carpenter 1984.

[28] Palmer 1963, p. 220.

[29] Palmer 1963, pp. 84–85, 218–220, argued that the Ea series related to the *lāwāgetās*. His argument is based on the presence of the adjective *lāwāgesios* (*ra-wa-ke-si-jo*) in the Ea series, which indicates that an individual craftsman is associated with/belonging to the *lāwāgetās*, and the absence of the adjective *wanakteros*, "royal" (*wa-na-ka-te-ro*). Three craftsmen—a potter, fuller, and armorer named *pi-ri-ta-wo, pe-ki-ta*, and *a-tu-ko*, respectively—are designated as royal in the Eb/Ep and En/Eo texts. In the Ea texts, on the other hand, two craftsmen are designated as associated with/belonging to the *lāwāgetās* (*ra-wa-ke-si-jo, lāwāgesios*): a wheelwright (Ea 421, 809) and a swineherd (Ea 822). Palaima 1997, p. 411, suggests that other craftsmen in the Ea series were of the *lāwāgetās* even when this is not explicitly marked. See too Nikoloudis 2012.

the Pylian kingdom and the contributions (Linear B *do-so-mo*, *dosmoi*, cf. ἀπυδοσμός) attendant upon those holdings to Poseidon and other prominent individuals and groups.[30] Two other series with few tablets (and personal names) are also discussed in this section: the Eq series comprises three page-shaped tablets by Hand 1, which record plots in an unknown location, and the Ed series comprises five totaling tablets relating to landholdings at *Sphagiānes*.[31]

The landholders of Pylos have already been subject to their own prosopographical study by Sutton (1970), who focuses his study on prosopographical links within single sets of documents. He concludes that within each landholding series, multiple occurrences of the same name indicate a single individual holding multiple plots of land.[32] This is similar to the conclusion, reached above, that single individuals seem to receive multiple allocations of metal in the Jn series and multiple flocks in the Cn series (section 3.1.1, 3.2.1), with the important difference that each series of landholding texts relates to a single toponym, whereas the Cn and Jn series deal with a variety of places in the Hither and Further Provinces. Sutton is agnostic about making prosopographical identifications of landholders with homonymous individuals outside of landholding texts, with the exception of the man named *Neik^w^heus* (*ne-qe-u*, who is called *e-da-e-u* on both Qa 1298 and Eb 495/Ep 613) and clearly high-status individuals such as *Enkherr'āwōn* (*e-ke-ra$_2$-wo*).[33]

A relatively large number of names from the E- series appear in multiple texts (Table 4.5). This is largely because many landholders appear in multiple landholding series: 18 names appear in Eb/Ep *and* in En/Eo. Of the 52 names that appear more than once in the E- series (not counting equivalent entries), almost three-quarters (71.1%, n = 37) appear *outside* of the E- series. This striking result suggests that names appearing in more than one E- series represent the same individuals with multiple landholdings. Our first task is to test this hypothesis.

30 de Fidio 1977, pp. 13–75.

31 All are written by Hand 1 with the exception of Ed 411, which was initially written by Hand 41 but is corrected by Hand 1; Palaima 1988, p. 52. On the Ed series, see Ventris and Chadwick 1973, pp. 450–453.

32 Sutton 1970, p. 100.

33 Sutton 1970, pp. 102–103. Cf. Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 42.

*Table* 4.5: Personal names in the E- series

| | Eb/Ep | En/Eo | Ea | Es | Eq | Ed | Total[34] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of complete and certain names | 61 | 40 | 29 | 15 | 6 | 1 | 132 |
| Number of all recurring names | 29 | 23 | 13 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 52 |
| Percentage of all recurring names | 48% | 57% | 45% | 27% | 50% | 100% | 39% |
| Number of names recurring outside of E- texts | 14 | 9 | 12 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 37 |
| Percentage of names which recur outside of E- texts | 23% | 22% | 41% | 27% | 50% | 0% | 28% |

Twenty-one names appear in more than one landholding series (Table 4.6), and the evidence for prosopographical identity is quite strong. In the case of names that appear in the Eb/Ep and En/Eo series, both sets refer to landholdings in *Sphagiānes*, so that in terms of location there is good reason to suppose prosopographical identification. Moreover, in many cases the titles of the landholders confirm the prosopographical identification: for example, *Atukhos* (*a-tu-ko*) is called the royal armorer on En 609 and an armorer on Ep 301; clearly, the same person is meant, with the scribe simply omitting the adjective royal because it would have been understood from the context.[35]

One clear pattern among these landholders in multiple series is that half are *telestai* in the En/Eo series.[36] This means that nearly two-thirds of the *telestai* (nine of 14, or 64%) appear in both the Eb/Ep and En/Eo series, a percentage that would seem much too high to be coincidental. Other than the *telestai*, eight additional individuals appear in more than one landholding series. The most interesting are the four female servants of the god, *e-pa-sa-na-ti* (also written *i-pa-sa-na-ti*), *Korinsiā* (*ko-ri-si-ja*), *mi-ra*, and *Psoleiā* (*po-so-re-ja*). For each of these women, there is a strong argument for prosopographical identification. It is important to note that the name *e-pa-sa-na-ti*/*i-pa-sa-na-ti* is written with an initial *e* by Hand 1 on En 74 and Ep 212, but with an initial *i* by Hand 41 on Eo 247 and Eb 1345, so that the variations are

[34] The total is regularly less than the sum of the other columns because of the many names that appear in multiple sets of the E- series.

[35] Palaima 1997, p. 411.

[36] These men are *a-da-ma-o, a-i-qe-u, a3-ti-jo-qo, pa-ra-ko, pe-re-qo-ta, pi-ke-re-u, ra-ku-ro, ta-ta-ro,* and *wa-na-ta-jo*.

due to scribal practice.[37] This woman appears on En 74 with two other individuals, *Hektōr* (*e-ko-to*) and *Korinsiā* (*ko-ri-si-ja*). These three landholders appear in consecutive lines on Ep 212 (.3–.5) and hold land from the same *telestai* on En 74, *Aithiok*$^{w}$*s* (*a*$_3$*-ti-jo-qo*). There can therefore be no doubt then that these are the same people in both series.

The three other women, *Korinsiā* (*ko-ri-si-ja*), *mi-ra*, and *Psoleiā* (*po-so-re-ja*), are interesting because the total amount of land held by each is the same in both series: *Korinsiā* holds GRA 1,[38] *mi-ra* holds GRA T 1,[39] and *Psoleiā* holds GRA T 1 V 3.[40] It would therefore seem that all three women, for some unspecified reason, are given equal amounts of *ke-ke-me-na* (in the Eb/Ep series) and *ki-ti-me-na* land (in the En/Eo series) in *Sphagiānes*. One problem with this explanation is that *Psoleiā* apparently holds two more plots of unknown size on Ep 539.4–5 (no corresponding Eb texts are preserved for these plots), thus making it virtually certain that she held more land in the Eb/Ep series than in the En/Eo series. However, the coincidence is still striking; it is possible that these women are given equal-sized plots in each series for a reason unknown to us, and that the other plots held by *Psoleiā* on Ep 539 were allotted to her for another, unrelated reason.

Of the men who are not *telestai*, three are servants of the god (*e-ko-to, e-sa-ro*, *ra-su-ro*) and one is a priest (*we-te-re-u*). *we-te-re-u* is identified as a priest in the En/Eo texts (En 74 = Eo 247, En 659 = Eo 444), and on Ep 539; but on the corresponding Eb texts (Eb 472 and 477) he is described as *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta,* probably an ethnic related to *ti-ni-ja-ta*.[41] The correspondence between Ep 539 and Eb 472+Eb 477 makes it clear that the same individual is meant despite the variation in his title. Moreover, the fact that he is the only priest in the Eb/Ep and En/Eo texts strongly suggests that he is not simply *a* priest, but *the* priest of *Sphagiānes*, the male counterpart to *Erithā* (*e-ri-ta*), the priestess of *Sphagiānes*. Thus, although *we-te-re-u* is not given a title in the recapitulative text Ed 317, his appearance there with high-ranking

[37] The variation is explained as reflecting two dialects; the *e* is normal, the *i* "special" (see Palaima 2002, pp. 216 n. 45, 217 n. 47).

[38] *ko-ri-si-ja* holds two plots each of GRA T 5 on En 74.18 and .24 (= Eo 247.3 and Eo 160.4 respectively), and on Ep 212.4 = Eb 347 she holds one plot of GRA 1.

[39] *mi-ra* holds one plot of GRA T 1 on En 74.4 = Eo 276.3, another on Ep 613.16 = Eb 905.1.

[40] *po-so-re-ja* holds one plot on En 609.17 = Eo 224.7, another on Ep 613.12 = Eb 173.2.

[41] See Aura Jorro 1993, p. 44, s.v. *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta*.

religious officials, namely *Erithā* and the *hek$^w$etās*-cum-"collector" *Amphimēdēs* (*a-pi-me-de*), suggests that the same individual is meant.[42] With regard to *e-sa-ro* and *ra-su-ro*, there are no contextual clues that argue for their prosopographical identification, but the certainty of prosopographical identification for all the other individuals discussed above dramatically increases the probability that the same individuals are meant.

The situation is a bit more complicated when it comes to the Ea series, which includes two names that also appear in the Eb/Ep set: *Opheltreus* (*o-pe-te-re-u/o-pe-to-re-u*) and *du-ni-jo* (see Table 4.6). In the case of *Opheltreus*, it is quite certain that the same individual is meant. On Eb/Ep, he is described as *qe-ja-me-no*, almost certainly to be interpreted as *k$^w$eiamenos*, an aorist middle participle of a verb from the root **k$^w$ei-* (cf. τίω, τίνω) meaning "having exacted satisfaction."[43] John Killen has connected this with the fact that the landholder in the Ea series is said to hold his land "because of manslaughter" (*e-ne-ka a-no-qa-si-ja*).[44] Thus, the two phrases certainly refer to the same fact: that this individual holds land as compensation for the murder of a family member. A man named *du-ni-jo* appears in the Eb/Ep series as a servant of the god, and is a prominent landholder in the Ea series. However, as Sutton rightly notes, there is nothing connecting the *du-ni-jo* of the Ea series with that of the Eb/Ep series; moreover, the name *du-ni-jo* is the most popular name at Pylos and one of the only names that certainly belong to more than one individual (see above, section 2.2).[45] The prosopographical identification is therefore possible but cannot be considered certain.

42 Lejeune 1966.

43 Aura Jorro 1993, p. 193, s.v. *qe-ja-me-no*; García Ramón 2007.

44 Killen 1992, pp. 379–380; García Ramón 2007. The phrase can be interpreted as *heneka anork$^w$hasiās* (cf. Homeric ἀνδροκτασίη).

45 Sutton 1970, p. 124.

*Table* 4.6: Individuals in more than one landholding series

| Name | Ea or Ed | Eb/Ep | En/Eo | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *a-da-ma-o* | | Eb 747.A<br>Ep 301.4 | Eo 351.1–2<br>En 659.8–10 | Certain |
| *a-i-qe-u* | | Eb 895.A<br>Ep 301.14 | Eo 471.1–2<br>En 659.12 | Certain |
| *a-tu-ko* | | Ep 301.5 | En 609.5<br>Eo 211.2 | Certain |
| *a₃-ti-jo-qo* | | Eb 846.A, 156.2<br>Ep 301.2 | En 74.11<br>Eo 247.1–7 | Certain |
| *e-ko-to* | | Eb 913.A<br>Ep 212.3, 705.8 | En 74.7, .17<br>Eo 276.6, 247.2 | Certain |
| *e-pa-sa-na-ti/ i-pa-sa-na-ti* | | Eb 1345.A<br>Ep 212.5 | En 74.13<br>Eo 247.4 | Certain |
| *e-sa-ro* | | Ep 705.4 | En 609.14<br>Eo 224.4 | Probable |
| *ko-ri-si-ja* | | Eb 347.1<br>Ep 212.4 | Eo 74.18, .24<br>Eo 160.4, 247.3 | Certain |
| *mi-ra* | | Eb 905.1<br>Ep 613.16 | En 74.4<br>Eo 276.3 | Certain |
| *pa-ra-ko* | | Eb 173.1, 377.A<br>Ep 613.11–12, 301.12 | Eo 224.2–3 | Certain |
| *pe-re-qo-ta/ qe-re-qo-ta* | | Eb 159.A<br>Ep 613.10 | En 659.1<br>Eo 444.1 | Certain |
| *pi-ke-re-u* | | Eb 496.A<br>Ep 301.8 | En 74.20<br>Eo 160.1 | Certain |
| *po-so-re-ja* | | Eb 173.2<br>Ep 613.12, 539.4–5 | En 609.17<br>Eo 224.7 | Certain |
| *ra-ku-ro* | | Eb 566.A<br>Ep 301.9 | En 659.15<br>Eo 281.1–2 | Certain |
| *ra-su-ro* | | Eb 1174.A<br>Ep 212.10 | En 659.3<br>Eo 444.2 | Probable |
| *ta-ta-ro* | | Eb 874.A<br>Ep 301.6 | Eo 224.7 | Certain |
| *wa-na-ta-jo* | | Eb 369.A<br>Ep 301.3 | En 609.15<br>Eo 224.5, 211.1–5 | Certain |
| *we-te-re-u* | Ed 317 | Eb 472.A+ 477.A<br>Ep 539.13 | En 74.1, 659.4<br>Eo 247.7, 444.3 | Certain |
| *du-ni-jo* | Ea 59.7, Ea 811 | Eb 169.A<br>Ep 705.3 | | Possible |
| *o-pe-te-re-u/ o-pe-to-re-u* | Ea 805 | Eb 284.1<br>Ep 704.1 | | Certain |

### 4.2.1. *Landholders at* pa-ki-ja-ne *That Appear Elsewhere*

Nineteen landholders at *Sphagiānes* (*pa-ki-ja-ne*), recorded in the Eb/Ep and En/Eo series, recur in other textual series (Table 4.7). Many of these potential prosopographical matches have been discussed already. I argued above (section 3.1.10) that four smiths, *Adamaos* (*a-da-ma-o*), *Atukhos* (*a-tu-ko*), *e-do-mo-ne-u*, and *Warnataios* (*wa-na-ta-jo*), can be identified with landholders in the Eb/Ep and En/Eo series with certainty or great probability. Another eight matches with smiths are possible but cannot be proved (see Table 3.10). The possible prosopographical identifications of landholders with shepherds from the Cn series have also been discussed above (section 3.2.6; see Table 3.13).

In the discussion of An 192 in this chapter (section 4.1), I showed that *Pēlek$^{w}$hontās* (*pe-re-qo-ta*) and *ta-ra$_2$-to* can be identified with certainty as landholders listed on the Eb/Ep and En/Eo texts. The individual named *Neik$^{w}$heus* (*ne-qe-u*) on Qa 1298 can also be positively identified as a landowner; the basis for this is that he is consistently given the title *e-da-e-u*.

The woman named *Karpathiā* (*ka-pa-ti-ja*), who is key-bearer (*klāwiphoros, ka-ra-wi-po-ro*) and one of the major landholders at *Sphagiānes*, can possibly be identified with the woman of the same name in Un 443 who gave to the palatial authority (]*ḍọ-ke*) nearly 200 liters of grain (GRA 2). It is clear that *Karpathiā* is a high religious official in the Eb/Ep series, and on Un 443 the entry in which she appears immediately follows the name of what is almost certainly a religious festival, *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja*.[46] It is therefore possible that *Karpathiā* contributed grain for the festival, which would cohere with her role as key-bearer. The same religious association obtains for **34-ke-ja*. She holds an unspecified amount of land on Eb 871, and although an official title is not provided, it is probably a religious official, since all other female landholders are identified as such. The same name recurs in Fn 187, a text that records grain distribution in a clearly religious context, allowing us to suggest prosopographical identification with considerable confidence.[47]

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[46] For bibliography, see Aura Jorro 1993, p. 144, s.v. *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja*.

[47] Killen 2001b, pp. 435–436. Note that offerings are made to the sanctuary of Poseidon, *pa-ki-ja-ne* (a religious center, as shown by Tn 316), *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja*, etc. The entry immediately preceding **34-ke-ja* is *po-si-da-i-je-u-si*, probably "to the priests of the sanctuary of Poseidon" (see Aura Jorro 1993, pp. 155–156, s.v. *po-si-da-i-je-u-si*).

*Table* 4.7: Landholders at *pa-ki-ja-ne* who appear elsewhere

| Name | Eb/Ep, En/Eo text(s) | Other text(s) | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-da-ma-o* | Eb 747.A = Ep 301.4, Eo 351.1–2 = En 659.8–9 | Jn 832.15 | Certain |
| *a-pi-me-de* | Eb 473.1 = Ep 539.14, Eb 1186.A = Ep 539.12, Eb 1187.1 = Ep 539.10, Eb 1188.A = Ep 539.11 | Cn 655.5 | Certain |
| *a-tu-ko* | En 609.5 = Eo 211.2, Ep 301.5 | Jn 658.10, Jn 725.7, Jn 927.11 | Certain |
| *du-ni-jo* | Eb 169.A = Ep 705.3 | Ae 8, Ae 264, An 192.3, .5, Ea 59.7, Ea 811, Fn 79.3, Un 138.1, On 300.6 | Possible |
| *e-do-mo-ne-u* | En 609.13 = Eo 224.3 | Cn 925.3, Jn 389.2, Jn 605.2 | Probable |
| *e-ri-ko-wo* | Ep 212.2 | An 656.2, Jn 845.7, Jn 927.11 | Possible |
| *e-u-ru-wo-ta* | Eb 156.1 = Ep 613.9 | Jn 310.4 | Possible |
| *ka-pa-ti-ja* | Eb 338.A = Ep 704.7, Ep 539.9 | Un 443.3 | Probable |
| *ka-ra-pa-so/ ka-ra-*56-so* | Eo 269 *lat.sup.* = En 659.19 | Jn 389.5 | Possible |
| *ko-tu-ro*$_2$ | Eb 839.A = Ep 613.13, Eb 499.A = Ep 301.13, Eb 1347.1 | Cn 436.6, Jn 431.2 | Possible |
| *ne-qe-u* | Eb 495.1 = Ep 613.1 | Aq 64.15, Jn 725.14, Qa 1298 | Certain (Qa), probable (Aq), possible (Jn) |
| *pe-re-qo-ta/ qe-re-qo-ta* | Eb 159.A = Ep 613.10, En 659.1 = Eo 444.1 | An 192.12 | Certain |
| *po-te-u* | En 467.3 = Eo 268 | An 519.7, Cn 45.13 | Possible |
| *ta-ra*$_2$*-to/ ta-ra-to* | En 74.15, En 659.6, .10, .13 = Eo 444.5, Eo 351.2, Eo 247.6 | An 192.10 | Certain |
| *te-te-re-u* | Eb 1176.A = Ep 539.8 | Jn 389.12 | Possible |
| *ti-qa-jo* | Eo 278 = En 467.1 | Jn 310.2 | Possible |
| *wa-na-ta-jo* | Eb 369.A = Ep 301.3, En 609.15 = Eo 224.5, Eo 211.2–5, Eo 211.1 = Ep 301.3 | Jn 832.7 | Certain |
| *wi-dwo-i-jo* | Eb 1186.A = Ep 539.12 | Ae 344, An 5.2, Jn 415.3 | Possible |
| **34-ke-ja* | Eb 871.1 | Fn 187.19 | Certain |

### 4.2.2. *Landholders in the Ea Series*

In this section, I discuss the possible prosopographical identifications of individuals who appear in the Ea series and elsewhere (see Table 4.8). *Amphihalos* (*a-pi-a$_2$-ro*) seems to be an individual of some rank who appears in An 192 and On 300 (see above, section 4.1). It is probable that the landholder from Ea 270 of the same name can be identified with this individual, since an individual named *du-ni-jo* also appears in the Ea series, An 192, and probably On 300 as well. Moreover, on Ea 270 *Amphihalos* holds a plot of *Pēlekʷhonos* the cowherd (*qo-qo-ta-o pe-re-qo-no-jo*). It is possible that this cowherd is the same man as the father of a *hekʷetās* named *Arehios/Arēios* (An 656.6: *pe-re-qo-ni-jo a-re-i-jo*). That is, Ea 270 presents us with two individuals, one of whom (*Amphihalos*) recurs on An 192 and On 300, and another (*Pēlekʷhonos*) whose son appears in the *o-ka* set. Given the dense set of connections between high officials of the *o-ka* set and An 192 and On 300 (see above, section 4.1), this prosopographical identification seems probable.

The prosopographical identification of *E*(*h*)*umēdēs* (*e-u-me-de*) in the Ea series with the man of the same name in Fr 1184 is certain. In Ea 812 and Ea 820, *E*(*h*)*umēdēs* is identified as an unguent-boiler, and on Fr 1184 he is the recipient of olive oil from *ko-ka-ro*.[48] The fact that *E*(*h*)*umēdēs* is called an unguent-boiler in the Ea series and receives oil on Fr 1184 strongly suggests that the same individual has been given olive oil in order to make unguent (perfumed oil). This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that *ko-ka-ro* is also called an unguent-boiler on yet another text (Fg 374), where he receives grain and figs. Thus, the men labeled as unguent-boilers (*E*(*h*)*umēdēs* in the Ea series and *ko-ka-ro* on Fg 374) may be confidently identified with the individuals of the same name on Fr 1184.[49]

The probable prosopographical identification of *E*(*h*)*umenēs* (*e-u-me-ne*), *sa-ke-re-u*, and *Pēlekʷhonos* (*pe-re-qo-no*) with smiths has been discussed above (section 3.1.10). The prosopographical identification of *i-ma-di-jo* is possible but cannot be proved; as a Potnian smith who appears in the Ea series, he is similar to *sa-ke-re-u*, but there are no other contextual clues linking the smith/shepherd with the landholder.

*Krētheus* (*ke-re-te-u*, cf. Κρηθεύς) is one of the most prominent individuals in the Ea series.[50] His identification with the individual from Na 565—where

[48] The title is *a-re-po-zo-o*, a variant spelling of *a-re-pa-zo-o, aleiphazohos* (see Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 100–101, s.vv. *a-re-pa-zo-o, a-re-po-zo-o*, with references).

[49] Killen 2001a, p. 170.

[50] Although it is not crucial to any argument presented here, I think that *ke-re-u* is a scribal error for *ke-re-te-u* (for bibliography, see Aura Jorro 1985, p. 349, s.v. *ke-re-u*).

he is located at *ti-no*—is probable based on contextual and topographical clues. There are individuals named *du-ni-jo* in the Ea series and on Fn 79; on the latter document, *du-ni-jo* is called *ti-ni-ja-ta*, a term that appears to be an adjective derived from the place-name *ti-no*. We cannot be absolutely certain that these two instances of *du-ni-jo* refer to one and the same individual, but it is striking that two prominent landowners in the Ea series may be associated with the same toponym, especially considering that *ti-no* is not a well-attested toponym.[51] Indeed, Palmer assumed that *Krētheus* and *du-ni-jo* in the Ea series were the same individuals on Na 565 and Fn 79 and used their association with the toponym *ti-no* to argue that the Ea series refered to landholdings at *ti-no*.[52] We cannot with certainty match the landholders named *Krētheus* and *du-ni-jo* to the other individuals of the same name associated with *ti-no*, however, and since important individuals often appear at multiple toponyms, caution is in order before we assign an entire series to a single toponym based on two possible prosopographical identifications.

An individual named *Thalamātās* (*ta-ra-ma-ta*) is, like *du-ni-jo*, a prominent landholder in the Ea series who also appears in the Ae series as a person whose animals other individuals are assigned to watch over.[53] Only 13 individuals appear in the Ae series, and of these individuals only *du-ni-jo* and *Thalamātās* appear as "owners" of livestock. The coincidence suggests that the prosopographical identifications of *Thalamātās* and *du-ni-jo* in the Ea and Ae series is probable.

The prosopographical identification of *ko-do* the landholder with the man on Vn 130 is tenuous, as there are no direct or indirect connections between the individuals on Vn 130 and those in the Ea series. *ru-ko-ro* is a landholder in the Ea series who on An 1281 is allocated to a woman named *Amphihērā* (*a-pi-e-ra*). The prosopographical identification is again tenuous due to the lack of any contextual associations between An 1281 and the Ea series. Finally, we cannot convincingly connect *Wastuokhos* (*wa-tu-o-ko*) in the Ea series to the military officer named *Wastuwāhokhos* (*wa-tu-wa-o-ko*) on An 519, even if we assume that these are variant spellings of the same name.[54]

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51 The toponym appears in the extant documentation three times (An 18.9, Na 565, Fr 1223.1), and the ethnic *ti-ni-ja-ta* appears only once (Fn 79.3).

52 Palmer 1963, p. 220.

53 In the case of *du-ni-jo*, it is his *me-tu-ra* that other individuals are assigned to watch over, a word whose interpretation is unsure (Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 169, suggest "hornless cattle," cf. μίτυλος, "hornless"), but probably refers to animals, as in one case the agent assigned over *me-tu-ra* is called a goatherd (*a3-ki-pa-ta*, Ae 264).

54 Aura Jorro 1993, pp. 410–411, s.vv. *wa-tu-o-ko*, *wa-tu-wa-o-ko*.

*Table* 4.8: Landholders in the Ea series who appear elsewhere

| Name | Ea text(s) | Other text(s) | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-pi-a$_2$-ro* | Ea 109, Ea 270, Ea 922.a | An 192.1, On 300.2, Qa 1297 | Probable |
| *du-ni-jo* | Ea 59.7, Ea 811 | Ae 8, Ae 72, Ae 264, An 192.3, .5, Eb 169.A = Ep 705.3, Fn 79.3, Un 138.1, On 300.6 | Probable |
| *e-u-me-de* | Ea 773, Ea 812, Ea 820 | Fr 1184.2 | Certain |
| *e-u-me-ne* | Ea 757, Ea 822 | Jn 725.15 | Probable |
| *i-ma-di-jo* | Ea 29 | Cn 436.5, Jn 310.15 | Possible |
| *ke-re-te-u* | Ea 59.2–.5, Ea 304, Ea 305, Ea 771, Ea 800, Ea 806, Ea 809 | Na 565 | Probable |
| *ko-do* | Ea 71, Ea 754, Ea 803, Ea 824 | Vn 130.11 | Tenuous |
| *pe-re-qo-no* | Ea 270 | An 656, Jn 605.10, Jn 725.3 | Probable |
| *ru-ko-ro* | Ea 132, Ea 782, Ea 799, Ea 823, Ea 882, Ea 1424.a | An 1281.13 | Tenuous |
| *sa-ke-re-u* | Ea 56, Ea 304, Ea 756, Ea 776 | Jn 431.17 | Probable |
| *ta-ra-ma-ta* | Ea 336, Ea 778, Ea 821, Ea 825 | Ae 108, Ae 134, Ae 489, Vn 851.3 | Probable |
| *wa-tu-wa-o-ko/ wa-tu-o-ko* | Ea 136 | An 519.3 | Tenuous |

### 4.2.3. *Landholders in the Es Series*

By comparison to the Eb/Ep, En/Eo, and Ea series, the Es series comprises a very limited number of fairly large individual landholdings. This fact, along with the shared religious contributions of the landholders, probably in a specific district, suggests that they comprise a relatively unified social group. Of the 15 named individuals in the Es series, only four recur elsewhere: *Alektruōn* (*a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo*), *Diwieus* (*di-wi-je-u*), *se-no*, and **we-da-ne-u* (see Table 4.9). In all cases we can be sure of prosopographical identification. Two individuals, *Alektruōn* and *Diwieus*, both recur as *hek$^w$etai* in the *o-ka* texts. *se-no* and **we-da-ne-u* are closely connected on Cn 655: **we-da-ne-u* is the "collector" of *se-no*'s flock (see above, section 3.2.6). This association makes their prosopographical identification certain as well.

*Table* 4.9: Landholders in the Es series who appear elsewhere

| Name | Es text(s) | Other text(s) | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* | Es 650.2, Es 649.1, Es 644.2 | An 654.8 | Certain |
| *di-wi-je-u* | Es 645.4–649.4, 651.4–653.4, 703.4, 726.4–729.4 | An 656.2, Cn 3.2, Aq 218.2(?) | Certain |
| *se-no* | Es 644.3, Es 645.1, Es 650.3 | Cn 131.11, Cn 655.19 | Certain |
| **we-da-ne-u* | Es 644.6, Es 645–653, Es 703.1, .3, Es 726–729.3 | An 610.14, Cn series, Na 856, Na 1041, Un 1193.3 | Certain |

## 4.3. Individuals in the Fn Series

The Fn series represents a relatively unified group of tablets, as shown by the fact that so many of the same individuals and professional groups recur in multiple texts within the series (see Table 4.12). Killen has argued that the Fn series is entirely religious in nature, with the exception of Fn 7; specifically, he suggests that the purpose of the Fn series is to allocate foodstuffs to individuals on the occasion of religious festivals.[55] Another perspective would be to see the mixed nature of the recipients in the Fn series (excepting Fn 187, which is full of religious recipients) as suggesting that the texts represent payments of grain on an *ad hoc* basis. If so, then the Fn texts will have been composed as grain was paid out of palatial stores, as James has convincingly argued was the case for the Thebes Fq tablets.[56] Like the Fq series at Thebes, the recipients in the Fn series tend to recur consistently, suggesting that the same set of individuals were receiving staples from the palace, at least in the short term, since the Fn texts are likely to have had relatively short life spans (see above, section 2.1). There are 52 certain and complete names in the Fn series, of which 22 occur elsewhere. A number of prosopographical identifications involving individuals from the Fn series have already been discussed: *Amphihērā* (*a-pi-e-ra*), **au-ke-i-ja-te-u* and *Miōkʷā* (*mi-jo-qa*) (see above, section 3.1.7), and *Alksoitās* (*a-ko-so-ta*), *Aswios* (*a-*64-jo*), *Keloutheus* (*ke-ro-u-te-u*), *ke-sa-me-no*, and *pe-qe-u* (see above, section 3.2.7). I have also discussed the possible prosopographical

[55] Killen 2001b.
[56] James 2006.

identification of an individual named *Antānōr* (**a-ta-no*) who appears on Vn 130 (see above, section 2.4).

Three names appear more than once within the Fn series, *Alkithos* (*a-ki-to*), *Aigihalios* (*$a_3$-ki-$a_2$-ri-jo*), and *Miōkʷā* (*mi-jo-qa*), and all can be confidently identified as the same individual in each of their occurrences. *Alkithos* appears as the head of a *gʷasilewiā* on Fn 50 and Fn 837; on Fn 79 he receives a large amount of foodstuffs, and the next entry, *Aigihalios*, also appears with him on Fn 50. Likewise, *Miōkʷā* has servants (in the plural) who are the recipients of grain on Fn 50, while on Fn 837 she has a single servant who receives grain. All three names must refer to single individuals within the Fn series.

Fn 187 appears to be religious in function: it records the allocation of grain to divinities (*u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja*), religious officials (*po-si-da-i-je-u-si*, perhaps *ka-ru-ke*) and sanctuaries (*po-si-da-i-jo-de*, *pạ-ki-ja-na-de*). Two named individuals appear on Fn 187: the first, a woman named **34-ke-ja*, can be identified with certainty with a landholder in the Eb/Ep series (see above, section 4.2.1). The second, a man named **te-qi-ri-jo*, appears as a recipient on Fn 187 and recurs as *te-qi-⟨ri-⟩jo-ne* on Un 219, a text that is closely connected to Fn 187; we can therefore posit prosopographical identification with certainty.[57] There are no compelling arguments for identifying this individual with a man of the same name on Vn 851 however (see below, section 4.7).

The Fn series shares a number of connections with the personnel text An 39. Most of the individuals on An 39 also appear in the Fn series (see Tables 4.10, 4.11). Olivier has argued that these texts relate to individuals who serve a sanctuary.[58] The extensive connections between An 39 and the Fn series established by the official titles, although not particularly concentrated in the personal names, leaves little doubt that the recurring names refer to the same individuals.[59] This conclusion is difficult in the case of *Kʷallans* (*qa-$ra_2$*) on Fn 7 and An 39, if we accept that Fn 7 is a secular outlier in a religious series, following Killen. Yet the fact that *Kʷallans* appears on both An 39, a text that Killen interprets as a list of sanctuary personnel, and Fn 7, a straightforwardly secular document recording an architectural work group, complicates the simple secular/religious divide. In the absence

[57] Other than *te-qi-ri-jo*, terms which appear in both are *ka-ru-ke, a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i, di-pte-ra-po-ro*, and *po-ti-ni-ja* (*u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja* in Fn 187).
[58] Olivier 1960; cf. Killen 2001b.
[59] Killen 2001b, pp. 437–438.

of this dichotomy in the Fn series, the extensive prosopographical and lexical overlap between An 39 and the Fn series as a whole suggests that the same individuals and groups are meant.

It is more difficult to connect individuals from the Fn series with other tablets in the An series. For instance, *qa-ra*$_2$ cannot be identified with certainty with a man of the same name mentioned on An 192. The large amount of foodstuffs given to *qa-ra*$_2$ on Fn 7 encourages us to view him as an important supervisor of the construction workers on that text,[60] which might suggest prosopographical identification with the *qa-ra*$_2$ of An 192, a text full of important state officials. Since no contextual associations, however, suggest the prosopographical identification of the individuals named *qa-ra*$_2$ in Fn 7 and An 192, nor of An 39 and 192, the prosopographical identification of *qa-ra*$_2$ on An 192 with the other instances of this name must remain at the level of possibility. Tenuous connections between the An and Fn series include *i-na-o, te-wa-jo*, and *me-za-wo*. Although there is little reason to identify *me-za-*[ ]*ne* on An 610 with the recipient of grain and olives on Fn 50, it does seem probable that *me-za-wo* on Fn 50 should be identified with the man on Un 138 who is in temporary possession of fines paid (*qe-te-a*$_2$) of grain and olives, since the other individual on this text, *du-ni-jo*, recurs on Fn 79, a text closely linked to Fn 50.[61]

*Table* 4.10: Official titles in An 39 and the Fn series

| Office listed on An 39 | Translation | Fn text(s) |
|---|---|---|
| *me-ri-du-ma-te* | superintendents of honey | Fn 50.5 |
| *mi-ka-ta* | mixers | Fn 50.5 |
| *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we* | equipment overseers | Fn 41.14, Fn 50.8 |
| *e-to-wo-ko* | workers within (?) | Fn 50.6, Fn 79.13 |
| *a-to-po-qo* | bakers | Fn 50.7 |
| *pu-ka-wo* | fire-kindlers | – |

*Table* 4.11: Prosopographical connections between An 39 and the Fn series

| Men listed on An 39 | Men in Fn series |
|---|---|
| *qa-ra*$_2$*-te* | Fn 7.7 |
| *pu-ko-ro* | Fn 837.6 |
| *a-ko-so-ta* | Fn 837.4? *a-ḳọ-*[·]*-ta* |

60 Melena 1998b, p. 171; Nakassis 2012b, pp. 276–279.

61 For the meaning of *qe-te-o* and related terms as "a (religious) fine or penalty," see Hutton 1993. I agree with Palaima (2000, pp. 266–267) that *du-ni-jo* and *me-za-wo* are the individuals "in whose care the contribution now rests."

| Men listed on An 39 | Men in Fn series |
|---|---|
| *pi-ri-ja-me-ja* | Fn 837.1? *pi-ri*[ |
| *a-ta* | – |
| *e-ni-ja-u-si-jo* | – |
| *ka-sa-to* | – |
| *pte-jo-ko* | – |
| *qo-ta-wo* | – |
| *te-o-po-qo* | – |

Olivier has also argued for the prosopographical identification of two individuals who appear as recipients of wine on the same line of Gn 428, *Idomenios* (*i-ḍọ-me-ni-jo*) and *o-ro-ke-u*, with two fragmentary names on Fn 324, ]*-me-ni-jo* and *ọ*[ ]*ke-we*.[62] Although the fragmentary preservation of the names on Fn 324 makes this prosopographical identification far from certain, it is nevertheless a striking coincidence that these fragmentary names from a single line are consistent with two complete names from the same document.

*Table* 4.12: Individuals in the Fn series who appear in multiple texts

| Name | Fn text(s) | Other text(s) | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-ki-to* | Fn 50.1, 79.14, 837.11 | – | Certain |
| *a-ko-so-ta* | Fn 837.4 (*a-ḳọ-*[·]*-ta*) | An 39 *v*.5, An 435.1, Eq 213.1, Pn 30.1, Un 267.1, Va 482, Wa 917.1, Cn (40, 45, 453, 599, 702, 719) | Probable |
| *a-pi-e-ra* | Fn 50.13 | An 1281.8 | Certain |
| *a-ta-no* | Fn 50.3 | Vn 130.7 | Probable |
| *a-*64-jo* | Fn 324.3 | Cn 1287.1, Jn 832.11 | Possible |
| *a*$_3$*-ki-a*$_2$*-ri-jo* | Fn 50.4, 79.15 | – | Certain |
| *au-ke-i-ja-te-u* | Fn 50.11 | An 1281.4, .10, Ub 1318.1–2 | Certain |
| *du-ni-jo* | Fn 79.3 | Ae 8, Ae 264, An 192.3, .5, Ea 59.7, Ea 811, Eb 169.A = Ep 705.3, On 300.6, Un 138.1 | Certain (Un 138), Possible (others) |
| *i-ḍọ-me-ni-jo* | Fn 324.7 (]*-me-ni-jo*) | Gg 428.5 (*i-ḍọ-me-ni-jo*) | Possible |
| *i-na-o* | Fn 837.2 (*i-na-*[) | An 209.5 | Tenuous |
| *ke-ro-u-te-u* | Fn 324.16 | Cn 600.3 | Tenuous |
| *ke-sa-me-no* | Fn 324 *v*.1 | Cn 131.13 | Tenuous |

[62] Olivier in Godart et al. 1986, p. 23.

| Name | Fn text(s) | Other text(s) | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| *me-za-wo* | Fn 50.4 | An 610.1, Un 138.5 | Probable (Un), Tenuous (An) |
| *mi-jo-qa* | Fn 50.12, 837.11 | An 1281.7 | Certain |
| *o-ro-ke-u* | Fn 324.5 (*ọ*[ ]*ke-we*) | Gn 428.5 | Possible |
| *pe-qe-u* | Fn 79.9 | Cn 45.5, Jn 693.10 | Tenuous |
| *pi-ri-ja-me-ja* | Fn 837.1 | An 39 *v*.6 | Probable |
| *pu-ko-ro* | Fn 837.6 | An 39 *v*.4, Jn 478.2 | Certain (An), Tenuous (Jn) |
| *qa-ra*$_2$ | Fn 7.7 | An 39 *v*.3, An 192.16 | Probable (An 39), Possible (An 192) |
| *te-qi-ri-jo* | Fn 187.12 | Un 219.4, Vn 851.13 | Certain (Un), Tenuous (Vn) |
| *te-wa-jo* | Fn 324.1 | An 31.1 ([•]-*wa*-[) | Tenuous |
| *to-sa-no* | Fn 79.4 | Jn 431.25 | Tenuous |
| **34-ke-ja* | Fn 187.19 | Eb 871.1 | Probable |

## 4.4. Individuals in the Qa Series

The leaf-shaped tablets of the Qa series record the allocation of an object designated by the ideogram **189* to individuals identified by name or title. At least five of the recipients are religious officials, chiefly priests and priestesses.[63] Melena has recently suggested, on the basis of a tablet fragment found in 1995 (PY Un 1482), that the ideogram **189* is a sacrificial animal skin given to individuals as gifts of honor.[64] Of the 16 names that appear in the Qa series, only five recur elsewhere (Table 4.13). The individual named *Neikʷheus* (*ne-qe-u*) is given the title *e-da-e-u* on Qa 1298 as well as in the Eb/Ep series (see above, section 4.2.1). The title of *e-da-e-u* is quite rare; it only appears three times at Pylos, each time modifying *Neikʷheus*, and once more at Knossos (KN V 958.2a). It is therefore virtually certain that the same individual is meant in all cases at Pylos where this title is applied. Indeed, the

63 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 485, suggest that **189* is a textile, and conclude from the prosopography of the personal names that the individuals in the Qa series "are all persons of consequence."

64 Melena 2002b, pp. 380–384. In Un 1482, the ideogram **1̣8̣9̣* is preceded by the word *ke-ra-e-we*, which Melena interprets as *gerahēwes*, a plural noun in *-eus* built on the noun γέρας, "gift of honor." Since **189* has the (acrophonic) sign *KE* within it, Melena plausibly connects this acrophonic sign with the sign sequence *ke-ra-e-we*. For the possibility that *ke-ra-e-we* is instead derived from κέρας, "horn," see Killen 2002.

religious context of the Eb/Ep and the Qa series suggests that the title is religious in nature. The individual named *pu-ti-ja* or *pu₂-ti-ja*, like *Neikʷheus*, appears in the Jn series and in the *o-ka* set, which is tightly conntected with the Aq diptych (see above, section 4.1). *Neikʷheus*, and two others from the Qa series—*Amphihalos* (*a-pi-a₂-ro*) and *Enkherr'āwōn* (*e-ke-ra₂-wo*)—seem to be individuals of considerable standing. *Amphihalos, Neikʷheus* and *pu₂-ti-ja* appear in the cluster of texts associated with the *o-ka* set, and *Enkherr'āwōn*'s presence on the rower texts An 610 and An 724 associates him closely with the *o-ka* set as well. The fact that many individuals from the Qa series are also allocated land by the palace is also suggestive of high standing in the palatial hierarchy. Only *Kinurās* (*ki-nu-ra*) lacks any indication of this elevated standing; he recurs in a list of shipwrights. We may therefore suggest that the likelihood for prosopographical identification of all five recurring individuals except *Kinurās* is relatively high.

*Table* 4.13: Individuals in the Qa series

| Name | Qa text | Other text(s) | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-pi-a₂-ro* | Qa 1297 | An 192.1, Ea 109, Ea 270, Ea 922.a, On 300.2 | Probable |
| *e-ke-ra₂-wo* (]*ẹ-ke-ri-ja-wo*) | Qa 1292 | An 610.13, An 724.5, Un 219.1, Un 718.2, Un 853.1 | Probable |
| *ki-nu-ra* | Qa 1301 | Vn 865.7 | Tenuous |
| *ne-qe-u* | Qa 1298 | Aq 64.15, Eb 495.1 = Ep 613.1, Jn 725.14 | Certain (Eb/Ep), Probable (Aq), Possible (Jn) |
| *pu-ti-ja/pu₂-ti-ja* | Qa 1294 | An 656.13, Jn 601.3, An 340.10 | Probable |

## 4.5. Individuals in the Mb and Mn Series

The Mb and Mn texts are taxation records that list various individuals and toponyms with the textile identified by the ideogram **146*. These texts appear to be both inventories and delivery records.[65] Seven individuals who appear in the Mb or Mn texts recur elsewhere, and have been discussed by Shelmerdine (see Table 4.14).[66] I have already suggested that the prosopographical identification of *Kerdoiōn* (*ke-do-jo*) on Ua 158 and Mb 1365

[65] Shelmerdine 2002.
[66] Shelmerdine 2002, pp. 314–318.

is possible (see above, section 2.4). The prosopographical identification of *a-ke-o* and *ka-ra-wa-ni-ta* in the Mb/Mn texts with individuals of the same name in the Cn series is likewise possible (see above, section 3.2.4).

A likely prosopographical match is *Kessandrā* (*ke-sa-da-ra*), who appears in one Mb and one Mn text (Mb 1380, Mn 1368.2–3).[67] Shelmerdine has argued that in both texts *Kessandrā* is a recipient of textiles, so it seems very likely that the same woman is meant.[68] *Kessandrā* also appears as the recipient of large amounts of grain and figs on two Fg texts (368, 828). On An 435 a woman of the same name is apparently allocated 19 or more named men by the "collector" *Alksoitās* (*a-ko-so-ta*).[69] It seems clear that the large allocations of foodstuffs to *Kessandrā* in the Fg texts is to support the men allocated to her by the central authority through the agency of *Alksoitās*; certainly it is difficult to imagine why she should be provided with them otherwise.[70] It is not straightforward to identify *Kessandrā* the recipient of textiles to the homonymous recipient of men and foodstuffs, however. There are two arguments one can make in favor of prosopographical identification. The first is that in both instances *Kessandrā* is obviously very important. This is significant because women seldom appear as important agents outside of a religious context in the Pylos tablets. The fact that *Kessandrā* is important in two separate contexts, neither of which is explicitly religious, is unusual, and may suggest that we are dealing with the same woman in all cases. A second, weaker argument is that a parallel is provided by *Kerdoiōn* (*ke-do-jo*), who on Ua 158 is allocated **146* textiles, grain (GRA) and figs (*NI*), and whose son appears as a recipient of **146* on Mb 1365. I consider the prosopographical identification of *Kessandrā* (in Mb and Mn with An and Fg) probable.

In the case of the three other individuals, *$a_3$-me-wa*, *ka-wa-ti-ro*, and *Paggʷōsios* (*pa-qo-si-jo*), all recur in tablets related to craft production, but there are no specific contextual associations that can be used to argue for prosopographical identification.

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[67] Mb 1380 was classified as Xa 1380 in Bennett and Olivier 1973 but was reclassified by Bennett 1992, p. 127.

[68] Shelmerdine 2002, pp. 317–318.

[69] Nightingale 2008, pp. 577–578.

[70] Nakassis 2012b, pp. 279–282.

*Table* 4.14: Individuals in the Mb and Mn series

| Name | Mb/Mn text(s) | Other text(s) | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ke-do-jo* | Mb 1365 | Ua 158.1 | Possible |
| *a3-me-wa* | Mb 1376 | Vn 865.2 | Tenuous |
| *a-ke-o* | Mb 1378 | An 192.14, Cc 660.a, Cn 40, Cn 45, Cn 254.6, Cn 599, Cn 643, Cn 655, Cn 702, Cn 719 | Probable |
| *ka-wa-ti-ro* | Mb 1401 | An 340.2, Jn 431.24 (]*wa-ti-ro*) | Tenuous |
| *ke-sa-da-ra* | Mb 1380, Mn 1368.2–3 | An 435.2, Fg 368, Fg 828 | Probable |
| *pa-qo-si-jo* | Mn 1412.2 | Jn 310.8, .12, Jn 601.8, Jn 832.10 | Tenuous |
| *ka-ra-wa-ni-ta* | Mn 1412.1 | Cn 45.12 | Possible |

## 4.6. Individuals in the Na and Nn Series

The Na and Nn texts record flax against various individuals and toponyms as part of the overall system of taxation of flax.[71] Eight individuals who appear in the Na or Nn texts reappear elsewhere (Table 4.15). In some cases, it is clear that we are dealing with the same individual, as with *e-sa-re-u* and *Heleheus* (*e-re-e-u*), both of whom appear in the Na texts and are adjacent entries on Cn 1197 (see above, section 3.2.4). Prosopographical identification is also possible in the case of *Krētheus* (*ke-re-te-u*), a prominent landholder in the Ea series who is located at *ti-no* in Na 565; likewise, *du-ni-jo*, a prominent landholder in the Ea series, is designated *ti-ni-ja-ta* on Fn 79. If the landholdings of the Ea series are indeed located at *ti-no*, then *Krētheus* in Na 565 and the landholder in the Ea series should be the same individual (see above, section 4.2.2).

One possible prosopographical identification is that of **we-da-ne-u* in Na 856 and 1041 with the "collector" in the Cn series of the same name. **we-da-ne-u* is assessed a tax in the Na series,[72] which indicates that he held land on which the tax was applied.[73] Since **we-da-ne-u* is involved with landholdings elsewhere (Un 1193 and as a recipient in the Es series), it is possible to identify the landholder in the Na series with the "collector." The remaining named individuals, *a-mo-ke-re-u*, *a-mu-ta-wo*, *u-re-u*, and *e-po-me-ne-u*, cannot be identified with individuals in other series with any confidence.

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71 Foster 1981.

72 Shelmerdine 2002, pp. 317–318.

73 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, pp. 469–473; Foster 1981, pp. 76–83; de Fidio 1987, p. 139; Halstead 2001, p. 44; Killen 2008, pp. 168–171.

*Table* 4.15: Individuals in the Na or Nn texts who appear elsewhere

| Name | Na or Nn text(s) | Other text(s) | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| *e-sa-re-u* | Na 195.B, Na 395.B, Na 568.A | Cn 1197.4 | Certain |
| *ke-re-te-u* | Na 565 | Ea 59.2–.5, Ea 304, Ea 305, Ea 771, Ea 800, Ea 806, Ea 809 | Possible |
| **we-da-ne-u* | Na 856, Na 1041 | An 610.14, Cn 40, Cn 45, Cn 254, Cn 418.1, Cn 600.8, Cn 643.5, Cn 655, Es 644.6, Es series, Un 1193.3 | Possible |
| *a-mo-ke-re*[-*u*] | Nn 831.3 | Fn 324.2 | Tenuous |
| *a-mu-ta-wo* | Nn 831.7 | Jn 431.26 | Tenuous |
| *u-re-u* | Nn 831.2 (*u-re*[) | Vn 865.9 | Tenuous |
| *e-po-me-ne-u* | Na 1357.2, Nn 831.8 | Vn 851.6 | Tenuous |
| *e-re-e-u* | Na 262.B, Nn 831.4 | An 723.1, Cn 1197.5, Jn 881.1 | Certain |

## 4.7. Individuals in the Vn Series

Since the Vn series does not constitute a unified set of texts, individuals in this series do not form a unified group. As many as 24 individuals in the Vn series recur elsewhere (see Table 4.16). I have already presented arguments for the individuals named in Vn 130 (see above, section 2.4). I also argued above that two of the three individuals on Vn 493, *Phawāwōn* (*pa-wa-wo*) and *Plouteus* (*po-ro-ụ*[-*te*-]*u*), can be certainly identified prosopographically with herders in the Cn series of the same name (see above, section 3.2.2).

Vn 34 is a text in which each entry is composed of two names followed by the numeral 1. In each case, the first name is masculine and genitive, the second feminine and probably nominative. The most likely explanation is that the text records the possession (in some sense) of women by the men. Several individuals from this text recur elsewhere. Most striking are the pair of names from the first entry on Vn 34, *Mēstiānōr* (*me-ti-ja-no*) and *Wordieia* (*wo-di-je-ja*), both of whom recur on the same line of Ub 1318 in the context of the production of leather goods. There can be little doubt that these are the same individuals in both texts; reasonable explanations would be that *Wordieia* is allocated to *Mēstiānōr* as a laborer, or that *Wordieia* is a relative of *Mēstiānōr* (perhaps a wife or daughter) who participates in the production of leather goods. Two men on Vn 34 recur on An 656:

*Kahesamenos* (*ka-e-sa-me-no*), a *hekʷetās*, and *Dwoios* (*du-wo-jo*), an *o-ka* commander to whose unit *Kahesamenos* also belongs. Unfortunately, the reading on Vn 34 is incomplete (*ḍụ*[ ]*jo-jo*), but *du*[*-wo-*]*jo-jo* is a likely supplementation, and the presence of *Kahesamenos* is suggestive. *Dwoios* the military commander can be identified with certainty as a smith of the same name (see above, section 3.1.3). Another possible smith on Vn 34 is *a-ta-o*, who is also responsible for a large number of workers on An 340, probably in the context of craft production (see above, section 3.1.5). Thus, the prosopographical identification of both *Dwoios* and *a-ta-o* as smiths in Vn 34 is attractive, given that *Mēstiānōr* and *Wordieia* also appear in a craft context. A reasonable hypothesis is that Vn 34 records the allocation of worker women to craftsmen and supervisors of craftsmen.

Vn 851 likely records the allocation of *de-mi-ni-ja*, a word interpreted by most as referring to beds or bedding (cf. δέμνια [neuter plural]).[74] Four or five names recur elsewhere, but their contexts are so varied that it is hardly possible to make a cogent argument for prosopographical identification in any of these cases. The only possible connections are that two men, *sa-nu-we* and *Orthwōwēs* (*o-tu-wo-we/*o-to-wo-we*) may both be smiths, and it is possible that ]*ra-i-jo* (Vn 851.14) should be reconstructed as *a-*]*ra-i-jo*, a member of one of the *geronsiā* on An 261 (where *Orthwōwēs* appears as the head of a *geronsiā*, among many other smiths). Thus, there would be three individuals who all appear in smithing texts or texts with close connections to smithing (An 261).

Finally, there is Vn 865, a personnel list of shipwrights (*naudomoi, na-u-do-mo*).[75] As many as five individuals of the 12 entries on this text occur elsewhere. However, it is difficult to suggest prosopographical identification with any confidence. Perhaps the most interesting possibility is the individual *u-re-u* on Vn 865 being identified with *u-re*[ on Nn 831.2. Since on Na 568 shipwrights are granted an exemption in the flax impost, it would not

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74 Aura Jorro 1985, p. 166, s.v. *de-mi-ni-ja*. I assume allocation rather than delivery for three reasons: (1) there are no deficits on the *recto*, (2) in each case except for one, only one unit is listed per entry, and (3) where it is possible to differentiate between case forms, personal names are in the dative.

75 On Vn 865 probably recording shipwrights instead of allocating workmen to a shipwright, see Palaima 1991, pp. 287–288. On the interpretation of the term, see Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 465–466, s.v. *na-u-do-mo*, with references. To the scholars that propose the alternative interpretation for *na-u-do-mo* of temple-builder, Billigmeier and Dusing 1981 should be added. They argue that δέμω is an inappropriate verb for building ships; but see Palaima 1997, p. 407 n. 2.

be surprising to find evidence for the palatial monitoring of the payment (or nonpayment) of flax by individual shipwrights. Two shipwrights on Vn 865 may have other craft associations: *sa-mu-ta-jo* recurs on Jn 389 and *a-wa-ne-u* may recur (]*wa-ne-u*) on An 261. As noted, however, all of these possible prosopographical identifications on Vn 851 and Vn 865 are tenuous (see Table 4.16).

*Table* 4.16: Individuals in the Vn series who appear elsewhere

| Name | Vn text | Other text(s) | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-ta-o* | Vn 34.5 | An 340, Fn 324.12, Jn 431.23 | Possible |
| *ḍụ*[*-wo-*]*jo* | Vn 34.9 | An 656.11, Jn 750.12? | Probable |
| *ka-e-sa-me-no* | Vn 34.2 | An 656.19 | Probable |
| *me-ti-ja-no* | Vn 34.1 | Ub 1318.3 | Certain |
| *wo-di-je-ja* | Vn 34.1 | Ub 1318.3 | Certain |
| *a-ta-no* | Vn 130.7 | Fn 50.3 | Probable |
| *a$_3$-ki-e-u* | Vn 130.4 | Jn 605.10 | Probable |
| *e-ri-we-ro* | Vn 130.9 | Un 1320.7 | Possible |
| *ke-sa-do-ro* | Vn 130.1 | An 435.17 | Tenuous |
| *ko-do* | Vn 130.11 | Ea 71, Ea 754, Ea 803, Ea 824 | Tenuous |
| *o-wo-to* | Vn 130.6 | An 261.7 | Possible |
| *to-ro-wo* | Vn 130.8 | An 129.5 | Tenuous |
| *wi-sa-to* | Vn 130.10 | Cn 328.12 | Tenuous |
| *pa-wa-wo* | Vn 493.2 | Cn 285.10 | Certain |
| *po-ro-u*[*-te-*]*u* | Vn 493.4 | Cn 131.5 | Certain |
| *a-*]*ra-i-jo* | Vn 851.15 | An 261.8 | Tenuous |
| *e-po-me-ne-u* | Vn 851.6 | Nn 831.8, Na 1357.2 | Tenuous |
| *o-tu-wo-we* | Vn 851.9 | An 261.2–.5, *v*.7, Jn 658.7, Jn 725.5, Un 616 *v*.4 | Tenuous |
| *sa-nu-we* | Vn 851.8 | Jn 601.13 (*sa-nu-*[) | Tenuous |
| *ta-ra-ma-ta* | Vn 851.3 | Ae 108, Ae 134, Ae 489, Ea 336, Ea 778, Ea 821, Ea 825 | Tenuous |
| *te-qi-ri-jo-ne* | Vn 851.13 | Fn 187.12, Un 219.4 | Tenuous |
| *a$_3$-me-wa* | Vn 865.2 | Mb 1376 | Tenuous |
| *ki-nu-ra* | Vn 865.7 | Qa 1301 | Tenuous |
| *sa-mu-ta-jo* | Vn 865.3 | Jn 389.4 | Tenuous |
| *u-re-u* | Vn 865.9 | Nn 831.2 (*u-re*[) | Tenuous |
| *a-wa-ne-u* | Vn 865.6 | An 261.12 (]*wa-ne-u*) | Tenuous |

## 4.8. Individuals in the Ua, Ub, and Un Series

The Ua and Un series do not constitute a unified set of texts but rather collections of different texts with mixed commodities. I will therefore examine individuals tablet by tablet (see Table 4.17). Several prosopographical identifications have already been discussed above: with regard to Un 443, I have argued that the prosopographical identification of *Kuprios* (*ku-pi-ri-jo*) in Un 443 and Jn 320 is probable (see above, section 3.1.9), and that *Karpathiā* (*ka-pa-ti-ja*) in Un 443 and the Eb/Ep series is possible (see above, section 4.2.1). The four heads of *geronsiai* on Un 616 recapitulate the same individuals on text An 261 (see above, section 3.1.4). The prosopographical identification of **au-ke-i-ja-te-u* on An 1281, Fn 50, and Ub 1318 is probable (see above, section 3.1.7). I have also already argued that identification is probable for *du-ni-jo* and *me-za-wo* in Un 138 and the Fn series, and certain for *te-qi-ri-jo* in Un 219 and Fn 187 (see above, section 4.3). The certain prosopographical identifications of *Mēstiānōr* (*me-ti-ja-no*) and *Wordieia* (*wo-di-je-ja*) on Ub 1318 and Vn 34 has been discussed above (section 4.7), as has the possible prosopographical identification of *Eriwēros* (*e-ri-we-ro*) in Un 1320 and Vn 130 (section 2.4). Finally, it is possible to identify *Kedoiōn* (*ke-do-jo*) on Ua 158 with the individual from Mb 1365 (see above, sections 2.4, 4.5).

Three individuals appear on Un 219: *a-ka-wo*, *e-ke-ra-ne*, and **te-qi-ri-jo*. I argued that **te-qi-ri-jo* can be certainly identified with the man on Fn 187 (see above, section 4.3). The name *e-ke-ra-ne* is plausibly a mistake for *e-ke-ra-wo-ne* (dative singular), itself an alternative spelling of the name *Ekherr'āwon* (*e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*).[76] The prosopographical identification of *Ekherr'āwon* in the Un series is somewhat difficult to evaluate. There is a lack of contextual associations between Un 219 and the other instances of this name. The only connection is that *a-ka-wo* also appears in Un 219 and on Jo 438. The latter text has connections to the *o-ka* texts and thereby to the related rower texts An 610 and 724, where *Ekherr'āwon* appears (see section 4.1): this connection is quite indirect, however.

On Un 249 an individual named *Philaios* (*pi-ra-jo*) is identified as a Potnian unguent-boiler and allocated ingredients for making perfumed oil.[77] Another *Philaios* appears on Ae 264, where he is responsible for looking over the livestock of *du-ni-jo*. The lack of any contextual associations makes prosopographical identification highly tenuous.

[76] Palaima 2002, pp. 214–221.
[77] Shelmerdine 1985, p. 20.

On the other hand, the prosopographical identification of *Alksoitās* (*a-ko-so-ta*) the "collector" with the man in Un 267 is fairly secure, as it is one of four texts where *Alksoitās* acts as an agent of distribution (Pn 30, An 435, and Wa 917 are the other texts), which seems to be an important aspect of his role in the administration.[78]

On the *verso* of Un 853 appears a man named *e*-[•]-*me-de*, perhaps to be identified with the *o-ka* officer and Jo 438 contributor *Ekhemēdēs* (*e-ke-me-de*). Since *Enkherr'āwōn* (*e-ke-ra$_2$-wo*) also appears on the *recto* of Un 853 and in rower texts closely linked to the *o-ka* set, it is possible that the same individual is meant.

The "collector" **we-da-ne-u* may appear in the genitive on Un 1193, a text whose purpose is unclear. It records numbers of *DA* against specified places; **we-da-ne-u* is the only individual on this text. Pia de Fidio has argued that Un 1193 should be situated in a landholding context (cf. En 609.1).[79] Given the high profile of this individual, and the fact that "collectors" tend to have landholding interests, prosopographical identification is attractive.[80]

Ub 1316 and Ub 1317 record deficits in the delivery of the previous year's deerskins by two individuals: *ra-ma-o* and *i-wa-ka* respectively. It is notable that both names recur in the Jn series, making prosopographical identification attractive. However, the variation in spelling of the name *ra-ma-o* (*ra-ma-jo* in Cn 285, Jn 692, and Jn 725) makes certainty impossible.[81]

*Table* 4.17: Individuals in the Ua, Ub, or Un series who appear elsewhere

| Name | Ua/Ub/Un text | Other text(s) | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| *du-ni-jo* | Un 138.1 | Ae 8, Ae 72, Ae 264, An 192.3, .5, Ea 59.7, Ea 811, Eb 169.A = Ep 705.3, Fn 79.3, On 300.6 | Certain |
| *me-za-wo* | Un 138.5 | An 610.1, Fn 50.4 | Probable (Fn), Tenuous (An) |
| *ke-do-jo* | Ua 158.1 | Mb 1365 | Possible |
| *a-ka-wo* | Un 219.9 | Jo 438.18 | Tenuous |

78 Nightingale 2008.

79 de Fidio 1983, pp. 14–22.

80 Two of the other three "collectors" are attested in landholding texts: *Alksoitās* inspects land at *a-ke-re-wa* (Eq 213), and *Amphimēdēs* and his servant hold land at *Sphagiānes* (Eb 473, Ep 539). **we-da-ne-u* is also a landholder in the Na series (Na 856, 1041) and also appears in the Es series.

81 See Aura Jorro 1993, p. 218, s.vv. *ra-ma-jo*, *ra-ma-o*, with bibliography.

| Name | Ua/Ub/Un text | Other text(s) | Prosopographical identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo* | Un 219.1, Un 718.2, Un 853 *v*.1 | An 724.5, An 610.13, Qa 1292 | Certain (Un 718, 853, Er), probable (others) |
| *te-qi-ri-jo* | Un 219.4 | Fn 187.12, Vn 851.13 | Certain (Fn), tenuous (Vn) |
| *pi-ra-jo* | Un 249.1 | Ae 264 | Tenuous |
| *a-ko-so-ta* | Un 267.1 | An 39 *v*.5, An 435.1, Cn (40, 45, 453, 599, 702, 719), Eq 213.1, Pn 30.1, Va 482, Wa 917.1, probably Fn 837.4 | Certain |
| *ka-pa-ti-ja* | Un 443.3 | Eb 338.A = Ep 704.7, Ep 539.9 | Possible |
| *ku-pi-ri-jo* | Un 443.1 | Cn 131.3, Cn 719.7, Jn 320.3 | Probable |
| *a-pi-jo* | Un 616.3 | An 261.6–9, Jn 725.14 | Certain |
| *a-pi-qo-ta* | Un 616 *v*.2 | An 261.13, .14, .17, *v*.5, Jn 431.6 | Certain |
| *o-tu-wo-we* | Un 616 *v*.4 | An 261.2–.5, *v*.7, Jn 658.7, Jn 725.5, Vn 851.9 | Certain (An, Jn), tenuous (Vn) |
| *ta-we-si-jo* | Un 616 *v*.1 | An 261.10–12, *v*.1, .2, .4 | Certain |
| *e-ke-me-de* | Un 853 *v*.1 | An 657.6, Jo 438.8 | Tenuous |
| **we-da-ne-u* | Un 1193.3 | An 610.14, Cn (40, 45, 254, 418, 600, 643, 655), Es series, Na 856, Na 1041 | Possible |
| *ra-ma-jo* | Ub 1316 | Cn 285.9, Jn 692.5, Jn 725 *r.orig*.19 | Possible |
| *i-wa-ka* | Ub 1317 | Jn 310.11, .16 | Possible |
| **au-ke-i-ja-te-u* | Ub 1318.1–2 | An 1281.4, .10, Fn 50.11 | Probable |
| *me-ti-ja-no* | Ub 1318.3 | Vn 34.1 | Certain |
| *wo-di-je-ja* | Ub 1318.3 | Vn 34.1 | Certain |
| *a-ke-ra-wo* | Un 1320.6 | Cn 599.3 | Tenuous |
| *e-ri-we-ro* | Un 1320.7 | Vn 130.9 | Possible |

## 4.9. Conclusions

Some of the individuals examined in this chapter form well-defined, coherent prosopographical groups, such as the individuals in the *o-ka* set and landholding documents, while others do not, yielding very inconsistent and patchy patterns. Nevertheless, the general conclusions established in Chapter Three seem to obtain for these groups: first, that many convincing arguments can be made for prosopographical identification, and second, that named individuals are responsible for a wide array of activities.

A notable pattern is the consistent association of named individuals of elevated standing with texts in which they receive something from the palace, whether it be access to land or more concrete items such as skins,

textiles, or foodstuffs. A particularly good example of this is the group of individuals who variously appear in the *o-ka* set, the Aq diptych, Jo 438, An 192, and On 300 (Table 4.3). These individuals may hold religious office or appear in texts with religious associations, be active in military matters, and have the wherewithal to provide other important services to the palace, such as the payment of gold to the palace in Jo 438. Many of the smiths and herders discussed in Chapter Three are integrated into these very activities, even if we take a very conservative approach and only accept matches classed as certain. This prosopographical result suggests that participation in smithing and herding was not limited to the nonelite. It becomes very difficult, in fact, to generalize about any group of named individuals, even those who share a named office.

The *hek$^{w}$etai*, for example, are generally considered to be among the inner elite of the Mycenaean palaces, and indeed to comprise the retinue of the king (see above, section 1.1). Their role is relatively clearly defined, since not only are they are given a title with a relatively transparent meaning, but they also appear in clearly military contexts at Pylos and Knossos. There are as many as 14 *hek$^{w}$etai* at Pylos (see Table 4.18): 10 named individuals are explicitly identified in the *o-ka* series as *hek$^{w}$etai*; another two have names that are missing or fragmentary. To this list we may add *Amphimēdēs* (*a-pi-me-de*), one of the four Pylian "collectors," whom Lejeune identified as a *hek$^{w}$etās*.[82] It might also be that *Komāwens* (*ko-ma-we*) is a *hek$^{w}$etās*.[83]

*Table* 4.18: The Pylian *hek$^{w}$etai*

| Name | Patronymic | *o-ka* text | Other text(s) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a-e-ri-qo-ta* | *ke-ki-jo* | An 657.11 | An 192.7, An 209.6, Aq 218.5 |
| *a-pi-me-de* | – | – | Cn 655.10, Ep 539.10–12, 14 (Eb 473.1, 1186.A, 1187.1, 1188.A) |
| *a-re-i-jo* | *pe-re-qo-ni-jo* | An 656.5 | – |
| *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* | *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* | An 654.8 | Es 644.2, 649.1, 650.2 |
| *a$_3$-ko-ta* | *a-da-ra-ti-jo* | An 657.14 | Aq 218.6 |
| *ḍị-ko-na-ro* | *a-da-ra-ti-jo* | An 656.14 | – |
| *di-wi-je-u* | – | An 656.9 | Aq 218 (?), Cn 3.2, 418.6 (?), Es series, Wa 917 (?) |
| *ka-e-sa-me-no* | – | An 656.19 | Vn 34.2 |
| *ko-ma-we* (?) | *de-wi-jo* | An 519.10 | Cn 925.1, Jn 750.9 |
| *pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo* | – | An 656.16 | – |
| *ro-u-ko* | *ku-sa-me-ni-jo* | An 519.15 | Aq 218.4 |

82 Lejeune 1966.
83 Nakassis 2008, p. 552 n. 15.

| Name | Patronymic | *o-ka* text | Other text(s) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *wo-ro-tu-mi-ni-jọ* | – | An 661.7 | – |
| *]ro* | – | An 614.3 | – |
| – | – | An 661.13 | – |

The profiles of the *hekʷetai* at Pylos link them as a group to the Aq diptych and the Es series. Three (*ro-u-ko*, *a-e-ri-qo-ta*, and *a₃-ko-ta*) or four (*di-wi-je-u*) *hekʷetai* appear in the first paragraph of Aq 218.[84] Moreover, three patronymics that belong to *hekʷetai* appear in the Aq diptych (*e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, *de-wi-jo*, and *ke-ki-jo*).[85] Two *hekʷetai* appear in the Es series: *Alektruōn* (*a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo*), who has the most substantial holdings in this series (GRA 7), and *Diwieus* (*di-wi-je-u*), who is not a landholder in the Es series, but a recipient of *dosmoi*, along with Poseidon (the primary recipient), the "collector" **we-da-ne-u* and the **34-ke-te-si*.[86]

As individuals, however, the activities of the *hekʷetai* are quite variable. This is illustrated by the fact that although two appear in the Es series, they do so in completely different capacities: *Alektruōn* is a landowner, whereas *Diwieus* is a religious recipient of grain. Only one other *hekʷetās* appears in a landholding context: the "collector" *Amphimēdēs* is allocated a substantial landholding (GRA 4 T 6) with a special status called an *etōnion* (*e-to-ni-jo*) in the *Sphagiānes* district (Eb 473.1/Ep 539.14). Three of the *hekʷetai* appear in livestock texts, but again in different capacities and with respect to different types of animals: *Diwieus* supervises the collection of oxen, probably for consumption (Cn 3), *Amphimēdēs* is a "collector" of a flock of 190 sheep (Cn

[84] *Diwieus* may be the *ne-wo-ki-to i-je[-re-]u da-i-ja-ke-re-u*, "at *ne-wo-ki-to*, the priest [and] land-divider" on Aq 218.3, since on An 656 *di-wi-je-u* is attached to an *o-ka* which is located at *ne-wo-ki-to*. *da-i-ja-ke-re-u* is probably a title meaning "land-divider" or "messenger extraordinaire" (Aura Jorro 1985, p. 149 s.v. *da-i-ja-ke-re-u*; Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 30–31). Alternatively it could be a personal name. However, there are vestiges of a word on Aq 218.2 after *ri-so-wa i-je-re-u*, probably of four signs. Possibly the traces are to be read ]-*ẉị-jẹ*-[, or even ]-*ẉị-jẹ-ụ*[, both of which are consistent with *di-wi-je-u* (Bennett and Olivier 1973, p. 63; Bennett et al. in prep.).

[85] In fact, the only patronymic that appears in the *o-ka* set that does not reappear in the Aq diptych is *pe-re-qo-ni-jo*. This suggests that the patronymics in the *o-ka* texts do not reflect the elevated status of the *hekʷetai*, but rather reflect a connection between the families of the *hekʷetai* and their participation in the activities recorded in the Aq diptych. Further arguments against the patronymics as reflections of status include the fact that not all *hekʷetai* in the *o-ka* set are given patronymics and the presence of patronymics and indications of kin in the Aq diptych that so far as we know do not belong to the *hekʷetai*.

[86] **34-ke-te-si* is presumably dative plural of an agent noun *-tēr* (Aura Jorro 1993, p. 465, s.v. **35-ka-te-re*), and might represent divine figures (Palaima 1989, p. 104).

655), and *Komāwens* is probably a herder of 16 male pigs (Cn 925).[87] Only *Komāwens* certainly appears in a craft context, although it is probable that *Kahesamenos* (*ka-e-sa-me-no*) does also. It is probable that the *Kahesamenos* on Vn 34 is the *hekʷetās*, and I argued above that this text dealt with the allocation of female laborers to supervisors in a craft context (see above, section 4.7).

It has been suggested that *hekʷetai* act as the liaisons to the central authority based on the translation of *hekʷetās* as "follower,"[88] or alternatively that they were palatial commanders of troops.[89] An alternative presents itself, however, from the prosopographical data. Examining the only two *hekʷetai* who are known to be brothers, *Aigotās* (*a₃-ko-ta*) and *ḍị-ko-na-ro*, it is striking that in both cases immediately preceding them are 20 men described with the ethnic *a-pu₂-ka-ne*.[90] These are the only *a-pu₂-ka-ne* troops recorded in the *o-ka* texts, and the coincidence suggests that these *hekʷetai* are somehow connected to these groups of men.[91] That is, perhaps *Aigotās* and *ḍị-ko-na-ro*, the sons of *Adrastos* (*a-da-ra-ti-jo*), come from the region referred to by the ethnic *a-pu₂-ka*, and these troops represent local men under their control. This suggests that one of the roles of the *hekʷetai* was to supply troops to the *o-ka* and to accompany these troops. It may also suggest that these two *hekʷetai* came from, or had influence in, the place designated by *a-pu₂-ka*. This would not necessarily mean that their power was locally based, however, since on the related text An 610 the "collector" **we-da-ne-u* contributes 20 rowers and *Enkherr'āwōn* (*e-ke-ra₂-wo*) contributes 40. The ability to provision men in military contexts appears to be a task that members of the palatial elite were capable of and probably required to perform.[92]

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87 On Cn 3 as a collection text for consumption, see Palaima 1989, pp. 115–117.

88 Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 121; 1973, p. 429.

89 Chadwick 1976, pp. 176–177.

90 Aura Jorro 1985, p. 91 s.v. *a-pu₂-ka*. See Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 22. The brothers appear on different texts: *ḍị-ko-na-ro* is on An 656, *a₃-ko-ta* is on An 657. The *e-qe-ta ka-e-sa-me-no* is called *a-pu₂-ka* on An 656, and *ma-ra-te-u* is called *a-pu-ka* on Aq 218.

91 On the other hand, other groups of men on these military texts appear to be landowners drawn via a corvée. Note the overlap between groups in the *o-ka* texts and the Na texts, at An 610 with its *ki-ti-ta* and *me-ta-ki-ti-ta*; see Killen 1983b; 1985, pp. 248–249; 2006a.

92 Nakassis 2012b. For these rower texts, see Chadwick 1987a and Killen 1983b, who plausibly explain them in terms of obligation in respect of landholdings.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## FROM SOCIAL STRUCTURE TO SOCIAL ACTIVITY

The prosopographical work of the last two chapters has dramatically expanded our ability to discuss the activities and identities of a wide range of named individuals in Mycenaean Pylos. In this chapter, I synthesize this evidence and discuss how this information changes our understanding of Pylian society. I suggest that we should not think of Mycenaean society in terms of a social structure filled with social roles, but rather that emphasis be placed on the activities and interactions between diverse individuals and groups in specific social and institutional contexts, from households to village communities to the palatial center itself. This shift in emphasis from institutional roles to social interactions allows us to incorporate evidence from prosopography, which ties activities attested in the texts to particular individuals. The emphasis on the contexts of interaction, on the other hand, makes it clear that the routines of the palace and other institutions such as the *dāmos* were important forces that influenced how these interactions played out.

### 5.1. Individuals from Names

Of the 700 certain and complete names in the Pylian corpus, most (67 %, n = 469) appear in only one text. A significant number (33 %, n = 231) appear in more than one text, and of these almost all appear in more than one tablet series (79 %, n = 183). Although previous approaches doubted that multiple instances of the same name represented the same person, the past two chapters have shown the opposite. For most names that appear in more than one text or more than one series, at least one potential prosopographical match can be considered certain or probable (Table 5.1). Comparing these results to those of Lindgren, I argue for a probable or certain prosopographical match that Lindgren rejects in 96 cases, representing over half of the recurring names in my study.[1] This represents a significant change.

[1] Lindgren 1973, vol. 1.

*Table* 5.1: Numbers of names for which plausible prosopographical matches can be made

| | Names in more than one text | Names in more than one series | Names in the Cn and Jn series |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 238 | 196 | 30 |
| Certain identifications | 160 (67%) | 89 (45%) | 16 (53%) |
| Probable identifications | 28 (12%) | 47 (24%) | 11 (37%) |
| Certain or probable identifications | 188 (79%) | 136 (69%) | 27 (90%) |

Although individual matches may be debated, the cumulative weight of these prosopographical identifications is substantial. We can conclude that most recurring names represent individuals involved in multiple activities within palatial purview. The number of prosopographical matches should actually be considered a minimum figure, since the fragmentary nature of our data set inhibits our ability to argue for prosopographical identification. This can be illustrated by the fact that the rate of probable prosopographical matches increases substantially when dealing with names from the Cn and Jn series, which is made possible by the fact that these texts are well-preserved page-shaped tablets (Table 5.1). It is also striking that there are remarkably few cases where a prosopographical match can be disproved. In most cases of tenuous or possible matches, there is simply not enough information to make a plausible argument that the same person is meant. That is, the problem is a lack of positive evidence, not the presence of negative evidence.

The high rate of prosopographical identification may even suggest that as a rule one name corresponds to one individual. Mycenaean scribes are extremely sparing in the information they record, so that we may surmise that in each case where an individual is named, this is important information. Personal names serve to index people, and this is possible at Pylos because there are very many personal names relative to the number of individuals (see above, section 2.2). This indexing is important to scribes because they need to record the responsibilities of specific individuals in order to verify whether or not these have been fulfilled or not. There also may have been rewards granted to specific individuals on the basis of their service to the state, such as tax exemptions. For instance, a number of taxation documents record tax remissions for groups of anonymous smiths and shipwrights, yet elsewhere these producers are referred to by personal name.[2] Because the taxation documents in question are concerned with

[2] Smiths are granted tax exemptions on Ma 90.2, 120.2, 123.3, 124.2, 193.3, 221.2, 225.2, 365.2,

entire districts, it is entirely plausible that the groups of tax-exempt smiths and shipwrights included individuals who were named in other texts. There are also taxation documents that record contributions at the level of the individual (PY Nn 831),[3] so there may well have been a need for scribes to track the services of individuals to the state in one context to determine benefits in the other. These arguments lose efficacy if we assume that the Linear B texts were temporary aide-mémoires for individual scribes, because knowledge of the specific administrative context of each record would mitigate problems associated with recognizing which individuals were meant. There are, however, indications that clay documents were checked, reread, and used by more than one administrator.[4] Despite the evident administrative importance of identifying specific individuals, there is only one known instance where scribes recorded additional information in order to differentiate between homonymous individuals (see above, section 2.2).[5] Yet these administrators were dealing with large numbers of named individuals: at a minimum there is evidence for almost 750 distinct individuals, but a figure closer to 900 is more plausible. Even if we assume that names only needed to be tracked by individual scribes, a major scribe like Hand 2 would have dealt with over 200 names in the Jn series alone. Even a less active scribe like Hand 21 monitors 30 names in the Jn series, most of whom (77 %, n = 23) appear in more than one text.[6] It may therefore be attractive to suppose that in nearly every case, one name refers to one person. This conclusion is quite hypothetical, but it does account for the high rate of prosopographical matches and the fact that scribes regularly refer to individuals by writing their personal name only.

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378.2, 397.3, Na 106.B, 252.B, 425, 529.B, 923.B, 941.B, and 1357.3; shipwrights on Na 568.B. Smiths are identified by name in the Jn series, shipwrights on Vn 865.

3 See discussion of this document in Killen 2008, pp. 168–169.

4 Bennet 2001, p. 29; Palaima 2011, pp. 79, 100–103. There are also indications that records may have been kept on perishable writing materials that would have constituted a more permanent archive (*pace* Bennet 2001). Pluta (2011, pp. 198–199) has argued for more permanent texts relating to the Es series, which record the annual payments (*do-so-mo*, *we-te-i-we-te-i* [Es 644]) by individual landholders. Thus it is possible, perhaps even probable, that documents were meant to be consulted and used by administrators in a manner that required knowledge of specific individuals and their activities.

5 Patronymics, for instance, are used sparingly, and in any case are mostly supplied to describe the *hek*$^{w}$*etai*, individuals who must have been very well known to the palace.

6 Out of the 30 names from the Jn series written by Hand 21, 37 % (n = 11) appear in more than one tablet series.

## 5.2. The People of Pylos

Who were the people of Pylos? Certainly, not everyone in the kingdom will have appeared in the texts. The 1,683 instances of names at Pylos probably refer to 875 individuals (minimally 742, maximally 1,115), less than 2 % of the estimated total population of the polity (50,000) and about 6 % of the adult male population.[7] This is hardly surprising, given that the palace's control of the overall economy and society was partial to begin with. Moreover, the written documentation only represents the tip of the iceberg: the sum total of palatial administrative activity must have been much more extensive than what was actually written down, and only a fraction of what was written has been preserved.[8]

Named individuals also constitute less than a quarter of the total number of individuals tracked in the preserved documentation (4,100); the rest are anonymous groups of men, women, and children. This draws our attention to the fact that individuals were named for particular purposes having to do with responsibility and reward. For instance, over 200 individual smiths were identified by name in the Jn series because each smith was required to render finished goods to the palace, and the amount of finished goods was related to, if not equivalent to, the amount of metal allocated to each smith. It was therefore possible and indeed necessary for administrators to check that each smith had met his responsibility. The fact that smiths at Pylos are allocated metal individually, rather than being the textually invisible subordinate laborers of palatial agents, also suggests that they were of interest to the palace in their own right, as opposed to those laborers identified by group, like most textile workers.[9] Consequently it tends to be the case that named individuals are important agents within the palatial administration, especially in comparison to unnamed individuals.[10]

[7] About 94 % of the names whose gender can be certainly identified are male; thus about 822 of the 875 individuals are likely to be male, or 6.6 % of an estimated 12,500 adult males in the Pylian polity (one-quarter of the 50,000; see above, section 2.2).

[8] On the importance of oral practices in palatial administration and its interaction with non-state actors and institutions, see Bennet 2007c; Palaima 2011, p. 71; Pluta 2011, p. 5.

[9] In the Near East, it is common for central authorities to allocate metal to a supervisor who then reallocates it to subordinate producers, who are not recorded in the extant documentation (Heltzer 1979, pp. 491–493; Bongenaar 1997, p. 356). Groups of textile workers are not identified by name at Pylos (Chadwick 1988); individual craftsmen on PY 1322.4 are also nameless.

[10] Palaima 2004a, p. 105.

These named individuals therefore do not represent a random sample of the population of Mycenaean Pylos. Our sample of named individuals displays a clear palatial bias. Only those people whose responsibilities toward the palace needed to be tracked at the level of the individual appear in our texts. There is also probably a bias toward those people who engaged in activity that is organized and monitored on a regular basis, as opposed to *ad hoc* jobs, since the documents that record annual transactions tend to be better preserved (see above, section 2.1). Many of the personal names in this study—names of smiths, herders, and landholders—come from tablets that were probably composed on an annual basis.[11] Women are, unsurprisingly, not well represented: just under 6 % of all preserved names belong to women, most of whom are identifiable as religious officials. These biases present difficulties for the study of Mycenaean society. Named individuals do not provide us with a complete picture, but they do allow for a fuller understanding of the activities of those individuals who interacted with the palace. In many cases, it is also possible to say something about the extra-palatial activities of these individuals and to make plausible inferences about their standing in Mycenaean society.

It is clear even from a superficial examination of the tablets that named individuals were a heterogeneous group. Of course they differ in their activities, but even within a given group, such as herders in the Cn series, there is considerable variation. For instance, there are herders whose names appear only once. Others appear multiple times within the Cn series, listed against more than one flock. Still other herders are active in other fields, such as smithing. In some cases, a herder's activities may be located at the same place, or two places that are close to each other, while in other cases these activities may be far-flung. While it is dangerous to make arguments from silence—the fact that a person's name appears only once does not guarantee that this person only performed a single task under palatial purview—it is plausible that many of these one-off names were in fact persons with limited responsibilities for the palace. Individuals with multiple responsibilities, on the other hand, must have been persons of some importance, especially where their activities are spread over space or across multiple

[11] Landholding texts are probably composed annually, as the Es series shows; it is also likely that *ta-ra-si-ja* allocations of raw materials such as metal were made on an annual basis, since the text KN So(2) 4442 refers to a deficit from "last year's" (*pe-ru-si-nwa*) *ta-ra-si-ja*. See Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 372, and further bibliography in Aura Jorro 1993, p. 114 n. 3, s.v. *pe-ru-si-nu-wo*. Presumably too the allocation of flocks to herders in the Cn series occurred on a regular annual basis (Killen 1993, p. 211).

economic fields. A man listed against one flock of sheep could have been a full-time shepherd in the field, although he must have had extensive personal holdings of sheep, or at least access to them, since it was apparently the responsibility of the shepherd to make up for accidental deaths.[12] When the same man is listed against two flocks at two different locations, however, he cannot be personally shepherding both flocks, since he cannot be in two places at once, and this is exacerbated if he is also responsible for working bronze at yet a third location. An example of this is a man named *Awekseus* (*a-we-ke-se-u*) who herds palatial sheep in the northwest and southwestern sections of the polity, and is also a smith in the northern part of western Messenia's Hither Province (Figure 5.1). Yet another example is *Plouteus* (*po-ro-u-te-u*), who is a smith in the southwest, tends sheep in the northwest, and goats in the northeast of the polity (Figure 5.1).

It seems then that these men were not necessarily required to carry out all of these tasks personally; rather, they were simply responsible for ensuring that they were carried out, either by doing it themselves (as in the case of the herder in the field), or by delegating it to dependents or kin members.[13] The men in the Cn series are typically called shepherds by modern scholars, who assume that they are humble herders in the field, although their specific role is not specified in our texts.[14] I argue that some if not all of them must have been herding supervisors rather than simple herders.[15] Some Mycenaean herding supervisors were in turn supervised in some way by four "collectors," who at Pylos are among the most important administrative agents and appear in important contexts outside of animal husbandry. There are numerous parallels for this situation. In Near Eastern administrative systems, the individuals in the textual documentation are often supervisors rather than herders in the field.[16] It is likewise normal in

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[12] Halstead 1999b, 2001, pp. 41–44. Although Halstead's findings are based on analysis of the fuller Knossian evidence, the Pylian texts are fully consistent with his conclusions.

[13] For a similar observation with slightly different conclusions, see Kyriakidis 2008.

[14] For individuals in the Cn series as low-status herders in the field, see Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 123; Chadwick 1976, pp. 64, 129 (with reservations); Baumbach 1983, pp. 5–6. See too the judicious comments of Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 187. Cf. Ilievski 1992, pp. 323, 337, who states that Knossian shepherds were middle-class. The Cn texts do not provide a professional designation for the men recorded there. The Mycenaean word *po-me* corresponds to alphabetic ποίμην, "herdsman," but of the four men designated as such (Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 119–121), only one (*ke-ro-wo*) appears in the Cn tablets.

[15] Kyriakidis 2008; Rougemont 2009, pp. 351–355. Cf. Ilievski 1992, p. 332.

[16] Postgate 1975, pp. 1–2; 1992, pp. 159–161; 2001, pp. 188–190; van de Mieroop 1992, pp. 86–87.

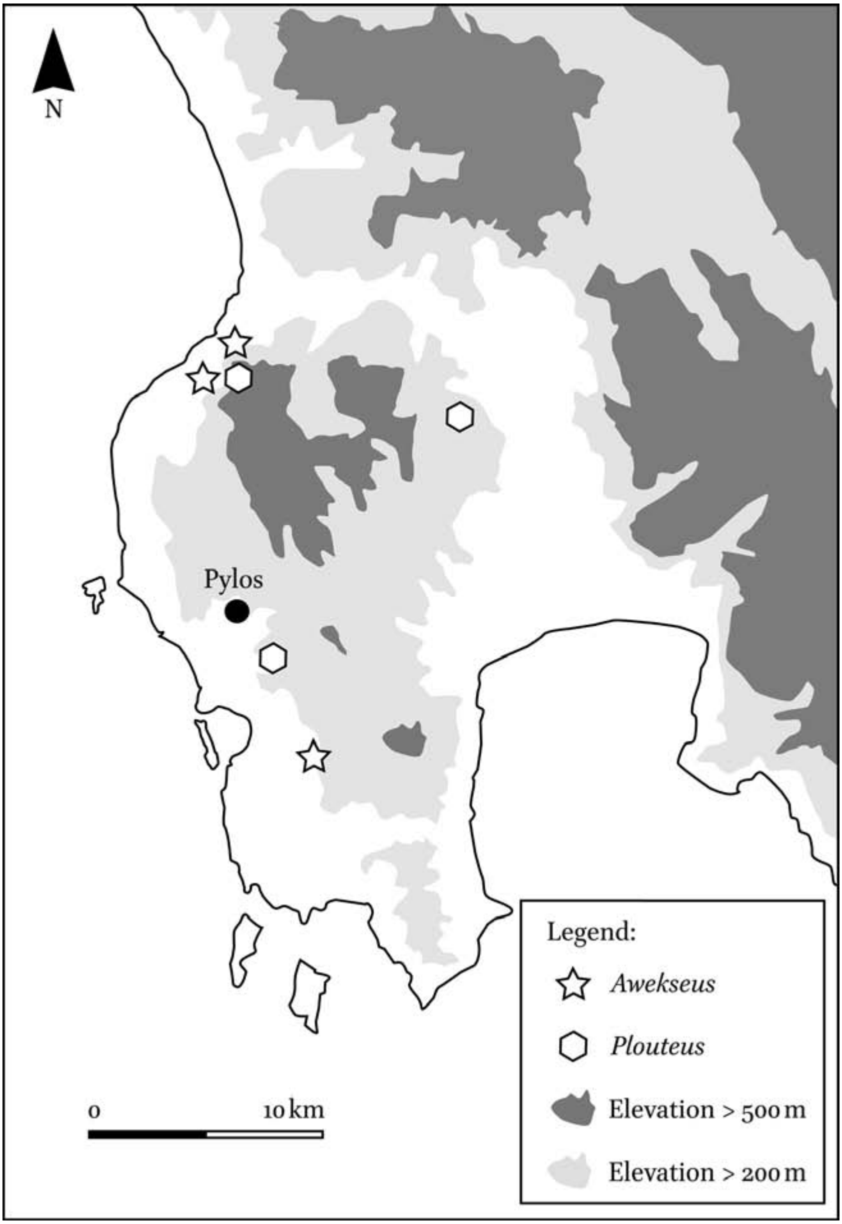


*Figure* 5.1: Known locations of the activities of *Awekseus* and *Plouteus*; locations are approximate. Drawing D. Nakassis.

the Greek world for the owners (and in this case, supervisors) of flocks to be different individuals from those who herd them. Homeric heroes, for example, own flocks that they regularly visit, but the actual herders are slaves and dependents.[17]

Some of the herders in the Cn series can probably be identified as fairly important figures. For instance, an individual named *Kuprios* (Linear B *ku-pi-ri-jo*, cf. Κύπριος) is certainly a smith and a shepherd of two flocks with a total of 110 sheep, all in the northern Hither Province. This smith/shepherd can probably be identified prosopographically with a *Kuprios* who receives cloth and wool from the palace in exchange for alum, a material that is not native to the Peloponnese and must have been imported. Killen has argued, moreover, that a man named *Kuprios* is a "collector" at Knossos, and Olivier includes *Kuprios* in his list of "international collectors" whose names recur in prominent positions at multiple Mycenaean sites.[18] The herder *Komāwens* (Linear B *ko-ma-we*) is probably the same individual as the smith who also appears as an officer in the military *o-ka* texts. In the latter context, the scribe has included his patronymic (*de-wi-jo*). Elsewhere in the *o-ka* texts patronymics are always associated with *hekʷetai*. This suggests that *Komāwens* is himself a *hekʷetās*, a possibility that is corroborated by the structure of the document.[19] Although this identification is hypothetical—in every other case *hekʷetai* are explicitly designated as such by the scribe—it would be consistent with the fact that this name also belongs to the list of "international collectors." There is a "collector" named *Komāwens* at Knossos, and probably Thebes as well. It is also worth noting that *Komāwens*'s brother *Pakhullos* appears on the Aq diptych in the company of *hekʷetai*, district governors, and other high officials (see above, section 4.1), so it is certainly plausible that they come from an aristocratic family.

This discussion suggests that named herders ranged widely in importance and status: some may have been herders in the field or low-level herding supervisors, whereas others moved in elevated circles in the administrative elite. This same pattern also applies to smiths, a group that has also traditionally been considered uniformly low-status.[20] The majority of

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[17] See, e.g., *Il.* 5.313, 6.421–424, 20.89–96, 20.188–194; *Od.* 4.460. According to Proclus' summary of the *Telegony*, Odysseus goes to Elis to inspect his herds (see too *Od.* 14.100–104) after the dead suitors are buried. See Ready 2011, p. 196, with bibliography. Modern Cretan parallels are suggested by Kyriakidis 2008, pp. 458–459.

[18] Killen 1995a, pp. 215–221; Olivier 2001.

[19] Nakassis 2008, p. 552 n. 15.

[20] E.g., Killen 2001a, p. 173; Hiller 2002, p. 195.

smiths' names appear only once in the texts as recipients (or non-recipients) of metal, others appear as multiple recipients of metal at different locations, and still others also appear in the Pylian texts in other administrative capacities: herder, landowner, military officer, and so on.

There are also reasons to believe that there is a correlation between how many times a person appears in the extant documentation and his or her standing within the palatial sphere.[21] The more times an individual appears in the tablets, the more important, varied, and spatially dispersed his or her responsibilities tend to be. This conclusion is consistent with the available evidence. First, there are many more singletons than multitaskers. As Figure 5.2 shows, the distribution of names according to how often they appear in the documentation corresponds fairly well to a Pareto distribution, suggesting that there were inequalities in full participation in palatial activities, as we would expect.[22] Second, if we examine those individuals who appear on the most tablets, they comprise some of the most important agents in the palatial administration. The four most commonly occurring names, **we-da-ne-u* (26 tablets), *Alksoitās* (*a-ko-so-ta*, 15 tablets), *Diwieus* (*di-wi-je-u*, 15 tablets), and *a-ke-o* (11 tablets), consist of three of the four Pylian "collectors" and the most prominent of the *hek$^{w}$etai* (see below, Table 5.2).

There are two general conclusions we can reach from the mass of the prosopographical data. First, there aren't clear ranks in status among the named individuals; they rather fall along a continuum of importance, from minor singletons to frequently attested individuals engaged in a wide range of activities. Second, those individuals who appear in multiple texts are generally not specialists; this is illustrated by the close fit of the two curves in Figure 5.2. That is, it is rare to find an individual who appears in many tablets of the same type. Instead, these men and women tend to be involved in multiple types of activity within palatial purview.

21 As Beech (1992, p. 209) notes in the context of medieval Europe, "The most prestigious and powerful people generally turn up more often than others, and conversely, rarity of appearance usually implies social insignificance."

22 Only complete and certain names were used to generate Figure 5.2. A Pareto distribution, developed and named after the Italian scholar Vilfredo Pareto (1848–1923), is a model for unequal distributions among individuals. It was originally used by Pareto to model income distribution. Pareto ranked the incomes of various familes and found that as one moved from low incomes to high incomes, differences increased rather than remaining stable, such that a small minority held the majority of wealth.

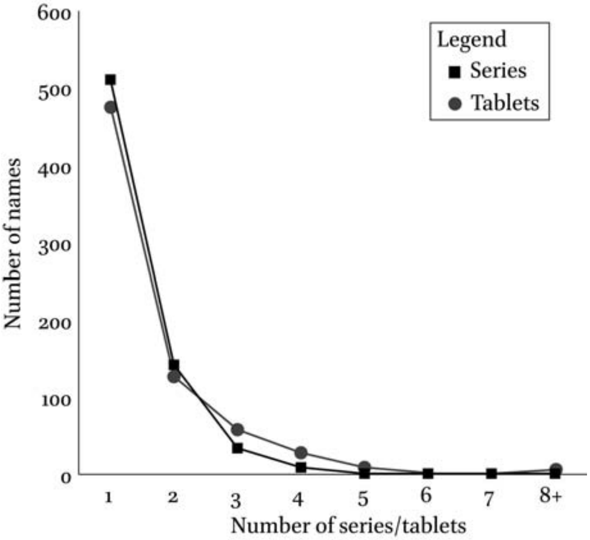


*Figure* 5.2: Distribution of names by frequency. Drawing D. Nakassis.

## 5.3. Ranking the Pylians

Although I asserted that the named individuals fell along a continuum of importance with respect to the palace, a skeptic might note that the traditional tripartite or two-tier model is not incompatible with the prosopographical data. Indeed, Figure 5.2 merely assesses names by how frequently they are mentioned, not by their rank, or by some other attribute that could serve as a proxy for rank. In this section, I argue that these approaches are in fact contradictory. For the prosopographical data to conform to the traditional tripartite model of Mycenaean society, distinct classes or ranks should be visible among the named individuals. Certainly members of the palatial elite and of the regional elite ought to be distinguishable. Some scholars have expressed the view that lower classes are also visible in the Linear B documentation among small-scale landowners and craftsmen, although I will argue below that individual members of the lower classes are textually invisible.[23] At first glance it might be possible to discern ranks by frequency: members of the palatial elite might be represented by names that appear

[23] Ventris and Chadwick 1956, pp. 122–125; Chadwick 1976, pp. 64, 77; Ilievski 1989, p. 77; 1992, p. 337; Killen 2001a, p. 173; Hiller 2002, p. 195.

many times, and members of the regional elite by names that appear in two or three tablets, and the lower class by the majority of names that appear only once. This is perhaps corroborated by the fact that the four individuals who appear in the most texts consist of three of the "collectors" and one *hekʷetās*.

Yet there are several problems with dividing the named Pylians into three well-defined ranks. First, many of the individuals who appear in large numbers of texts do not belong to the traditional model's palatial elite (see Table 5.2). Although the top four recurring individuals in Table 5.2 belong to this group, the rest do not.[24] Another way of expressing this problem is to note that although the individuals identified as followers (*hekʷetai*) hold an office of very high status, only one of them (*di-wi-je-u*) appears on a significant number of tablets. Four of the 11 certainly identified followers with completely preserved names are even singletons.[25] The same problems apply to the profiles of palatial officials who operate on the district level, like *korētēres*. The personal names of only three *korētēres* are known, and although they appear in important administrative contexts, none appears in very many texts: one is a singleton, while the remaining two appear on only two tablets.[26]

*Table* 5.2: Named individuals who appear on five or more texts at Pylos

| Name | Number of texts | Official titles | Probable number of individuals |
|---|---|---|---|
| **we-da-ne-u* | 26 | "Collector" | 1 |
| *a-ko-so-ta* | 15 | "Collector" | 1 |
| *di-wi-je-u* | 15 | *hekʷetās* | 1 |
| *a-ke-o* | 11 | "Collector" | 1 |
| *du-ni-jo* | 9 | *du-ma* | 4 |
| *ta-ra-ma-ta* | 7 | | 2 |
| *ru-ko-ro* | 7 | *lāwāgesian* (*ra-wa-ke-si-jo*) | 2 |
| *a-pi-a*$_2$*-ro* | 6 | | 1 |
| *we-te-re-u* | 5 | Priest | 1 |
| *e-ko-to* | 5 | Servant of the god | 1 |
| *ko-tu-ro*$_2$ | 5 | Smith, *ka-ma-e-u, mi-ka-ta, pa-da-je-u* | 2 |
| *a-tu-ko* | 5 | Royal armorer, smith | 1 |

24 One possible exception is *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*, whom some have considered the persona of the Pylian *wanax*; see Appendix, s.v. *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*.

25 These *hekʷetai* are *a-re-i-jo, ḍị-ko-na-ro, pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo, and wo-ro-tu-mi-ni-jọ*.

26 The named *korētēres* are *ku-ru-me-no* (An 654, Aq 64), *pe-ri-mo* (Aq 64), and *te-po-se-u* (Jo 438, On 300).

| Name | Number of texts | Official titles | Probable number of individuals |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ke-sa-da-ra* | 5 | | 1 |
| *qe-ta-ko* | 5 | Smith | 1 |
| *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo* | 5 | | 1 |
| *ko-do* | 5 | Herdsman (*po-me*) | 2 |
| *sa-ke-re-u* | 5 | Priest, smith | 1 |
| *se-no* | 5 | | 1 |

Second, many of the named individuals, including several in Table 5.2, have no official title so far as we know, and are therefore difficult to fit into the hierarchical grid of the traditional model. It might be argued that these individuals did hold office but that the evidence has simply not been preserved, but this is difficult to accept in all or even most cases, especially since some of these individuals without official titles appear in a large number of tablets. Strictly speaking, the "collectors" also lack official titles. The one exception to this is *Amphimēdēs* (*a-pi-me-de*), whom Lejeune showed to be a *hekʷetās*, but he is actually the least prominent of the four "collectors."[27] He is attached to only one flock of 190 sheep in the Cn tablets, constituting only 5 % of the animals associated with the "collectors."[28] Outside of animal husbandry, *Amphimēdēs* only appears in one other context, as a substantial landholder of a privileged type of land called an *etōnion*, probably meaning "true benefit" (*e-to-ni-jo*).[29] Although this extremely rare privilege leaves little doubt that *Amphimēdēs* is a high-status individual, in terms of textually attested activities he cannot compare to his fellow "collectors," who are involved at a high level in a variety of transaction types and economic fields. The fact that the only officeholder among the "collectors" is the least prominent of the group illustrates vividly how poorly official titles correlate with the economic and managerial activities and responsibilities recorded in our documents.

Third and finally, individuals can hold multiple offices; occasionally these offices are located at different points in the administrative hierarchy.[30] For

[27] Lejeune 1966.

[28] Bennet 1992, p. 69.

[29] *Amphimēdēs* also has three named servants (*do-e-ro*) who hold land on the same text (Ep 539). On the privileged status of *e-to-ni-jo* land, see Ruijgh 1967, pp. 109–110; Duhoux 1976, p. 48; Deger-Jalkotzy 1983, p. 100.

[30] Cf. Driessen 1992, p. 200.

instance, smiths, who are usually considered lower-status laborers, can occupy positions of the regional or even palatial elite. The smith *sa-ke-re-u* is also a priest, two others are *telestai*. I argued above that *Komāwens* is a *hek*$^{w}$*etās*, and it is also possible that the smith *Pēlek*$^{w}$*honos* (Linear B *pe-re-qo-no*) is the father of the *hek*$^{w}$*etās* named *Arehios/Arēios* (Linear B *a-re-i-jo*).[31]

In sum, the prosopographical evidence confuses the clear administrative structures derived from official titles: some individuals hold no office yet are active in the texts, while others hold high offices but do not seem to play major supervisory roles. Some individuals even hold multiple offices of different ranks. The impression one gets is that the human actors are running riot through the neat palatial grid. On the one hand, one expects a certain amount of messiness from individual practices, which need not conform slavishly to the rules and procedures of institutional structures. But the prosopographical evidence also suggests that some old ideas need to be reconsidered. I argued above, for example, that at least some herders in the Cn texts were actually supervisors rather than full-time herders in the field. Likewise, some studies of the smiths as a group have concluded that they were lower-status laborers, but my prosopographical analysis shows that some of them were important agents. I would go so far as to characterize most of the named individuals in the Pylos texts as elite.

## 5.4. Defining the Mycenaean Elite

Calling these individuals elite simply raises the questions of what qualifies as elite and whether this term has any heuristic value. As George Marcus has noted, "elite is a term clear in what it signifies, but ambiguous as to its precise referents."[32] It generally refers to a small group of individuals characterized by their agency and exclusivity.[33] Most would agree that the elite comprise those individuals who exert significant power or influence. The term elite is therefore inherently relational; although all individuals have the ability to

31 The likelihood that *pe-re-qo-no* and the individual signified by the patronymic *pe-re-qo-ni-jo* are the same individual is possible, given the association of *pe-re-qo-no* with *a-pi-a*$_2$*-ro* in the Ea series (Ea 270). *a-pi-a*$_2$*-ro* appears on An 192 and On 300, texts that are closely associated with the *o-ka* texts, where *a-re-i-jo* appears as a *hek*$^{w}$*etās* (see Chapter Three). It is worth noting that the names are both martial: "Warlike" (*a-re-i-jo, Arehios* or *Arēios*) is the son of the "Far-slayer" (*pe-re-qo-no*, probably to be interpreted as *Pēlek*$^{w}$*honos*).

32 Marcus 1983, p. 7.

33 Giddens 1974; Marcus 1983; Chase and Chase 1992.

make a difference, some are more likely to get their way despite resistance from others.[34] The elite is especially associated in the sociological literature with its influence in political and economic institutions.[35] Likewise in the traditional model of the Mycenaean state, members of the elite are defined as palatial officials.[36] This definition flows logically from the concept of the palace as a dominant central institution that coordinated all activities of consequence within its territory.[37] If the palace is the only institution that matters, then the people who manage it are the most important agents in Mycenaean society. Importance in palatial affairs is importance in society, and vice versa. Yet this definition raises two questions: First, if we allow for more activity outside of the palatial sphere, to what extent does the definition of elite need to be changed? Second, what constitutes management of the palace? I argue below that the prosopographical evidence suggests that we need a broader definition of elite, one which recognizes that its members can have multiple sources of influence and status, not just institutional roles.[38]

I begin with the question of what constitutes management of the palace. The most common approach is to focus on the activities of titled administrators, but it would have been impossible for the palace to have managed the wide variety of its interests purely through the agency of titled officials. For instance, virtually no titled officials are involved in the extensive management of animal husbandry and textile production at Pylos and Knossos.[39] The equally extensive bronze production at Pylos involves the presence of only three or four *g$^w$asilēwes*, who seen to derive their authority locally, not

[34] Weber 1978, vol. 1, p. 53.

[35] Giddens 1974; Marcus 1983. Cf. Driessen 1992, pp. 198–200, on a typology of the Mycenaean elite into a titled elite, a military elite, and an economic elite (although he allows that particular individuals can belong to multiple categories).

[36] E.g., Killen 2008, p. 178. Cf. Marcus 1983, p. 20, who notes that modern research tends to treat all members of the elite as if they belong to the political elite.

[37] E.g., de Fidio 2001, p. 23: "the strict control exercised by the centre represents the essential qualitative fact .... in view of this it would be impossible to overestimate the role of the centre." So too Killen 2008, p. 180: "the role which the palaces played in the economy of Mycenaean states was not merely significant, but central and dominant." Even those who acknowledge that palatial control was less than complete still speak of stable, formal, and institutionalized power structures dominated by the palaces (e.g., Shelmerdine and Bennet 2008, p. 290).

[38] Marcus 1983, p. 19, writes, "Rather than assuming the existence of a tightly knit societal elite organization, it seems more appropriate to assume only a complex intertwining of elite organizations of varying character that crosscut institutional and regional boundaries."

[39] Killen 2007c.

from the palace (see above, section 1.1).[40] The prosopographical analysis of Chapters Three and Four makes it clear that many important individuals without titles were recorded as agents responsible for ensuring that productive activities were conducted properly. In some cases it seems likely that they performed this activity themselves, in other cases they probably arranged for others to do them. For instance, I argued that full-time herding in the field was probably not the direct responsibility of the named individuals recorded in the Cn tablets, since several individuals are recorded against flocks in different parts of the Pylian kingdom. Similarly, many of the individuals recorded as landholders in various series were presumably not full-time farmers, but arranged for others to farm the land on their behalf.[41] Metal production, on the other hand, could have been the direct responsibility of named smiths, since it seems clear that smithing was a part-time activity.[42] While the idea that craft producers might be important agents may seem surprising, from a comparative perspective it is not. Recent studies have challenged older assumptions about the social and economic marginality of craft producers.[43] Compelling arguments have been put forward for members of elite households being artisans in specialized craft production among Hawaiian chiefdoms, Late Classic Maya polities, the Aztec and Inka empires, African states, Bronze Age Europe, and elsewhere.[44] In the Near East, the situation varied widely, depending on a variety of factors, but in most historical contexts in the Near East skilled craft producers were important individuals.[45]

There are also internal reasons to believe that certain responsibilities were allocated to individuals with considerable influence. It seems clear that herders of palatial flocks were required to make up any losses in the flock due to natural mortality on their own. The palace was mainly concerned that the flock retained its numerical strength and that the desired amount of wool was delivered, and was not particularly interested in specific animals.[46] There are two consequences of this fact. First, herders must

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[40] There are three named individuals in the Jn series called *qa-si-re-u*: *a-pi-qo-ta* (Jn 431.6), *pa-qo-ṣị[-jo]* (Jn 601.8), and *e-ri-ko-wo* (Jn 845.7). The son of *a-pi-qo-ta* (*ị-*65-qe*) is also listed after his father (Jn 431.6) and may also have acted as a *qa-si-re-u*.

[41] Cf. Davies 1981, pp. 52–55.

[42] Killen 1979a, p. 134; 2006b, pp. 95–98; Uchitel 1993; Smith 1995, pp. 191, 210–211 n. 109.

[43] Zettler 1996, p. 18; Costin 1998a, pp. 6–8.

[44] Weiner 1976; Marcus 1987; Childs and Killick 1993, pp. 322–323, 330; Helms 1993; Ames 1995; Brumfiel 1998; Childs 1998; Costin 1998b, 2001, pp. 282–283; 2004; Lass 1998; Reents-Budet 1998; Inomata 2001; Barber 2003, pp. 125–134.

[45] van de Mieroop 1997, pp. 179–185.

[46] Killen 1993, pp. 211–212.

have had animals of their own, or access to significant numbers of animals, to maintain the flock's strength. Halstead has estimated on the basis of the Knossian evidence that a herder in charge of an average-sized flock of 112 sheep would have required a private flock of at least 160, a very large flock indeed by Classical Greek standards.[47] Second, this allowed herders to exchange animals freely between palatial and their own private flocks. Halstead has shown that these arrangements could have been beneficial to the herders, who could replace yearling or ewes for fat palatial wethers, which they could then slaughter, or yearlings for palatial ewe lambs, which would allow them to expand their own flocks.[48] The latter strategy would have enabled herders to stockpile material wealth, while the former would have provided them with the opportunity to hold local feasts and thereby to accumulate social prestige through their generosity.[49]

The activities of most named individuals were not minor, but among the most important monitored by the palace. Named individuals at Pylos were active in textile production through animal husbandry, and production of bronze products, two of the main palatial "industries." Perfumed oil manufacture, too, was managed by a very small group of named individuals.[50] The prosopographical record suggests that these individuals were not a separate class from officeholders. Instead, named individuals without titles commonly appear side by side with officials on documents of various types.

A significant number of named individuals, moreover, clearly appear in multiple documents acting in various capacities for the palace in different regions of the kingdom. Not only were such multitasking individuals important agents of activities under palatial purview, but they must have possessed considerable private holdings to have the wherewithal to assume multiple responsibilities. If these individuals arranged for these tasks to be managed directly by others, such as in the case of animal husbandry, then they must have been able to mobilize labor through kin or personal connections.[51] These multitasking agents can be usefully compared to the "collectors" in that they were responsible for multiple responsibilities in various economic spheres and geographical locales and were simply referred to in the tablets by personal name. Indeed, it may be fruitful not to think of

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47 Halstead 1999b, p. 166. On the livestock of the wealthy Classical elite, see Hodkinson 1988, pp. 61–67.

48 Halstead 1999b; 2001, p. 43.

49 Halstead 1999b, pp. 160–162.

50 Shelmerdine 1985; 2006, p. 81.

51 Kyriakidis 2008.

"collectors" as a coherent and distinct set of administrators, but as members of a wider group of individuals identified in the tablets by personal name. Recent scholarship has increased the number of the "collectors," including individuals who are smiths and herders.[52] In this case, named individuals would be located along a continuum of importance: at the top are the "collectors," who are typically involved in a large number of significant activities, while further down are multitasking individuals whose responsibilities are somewhat more mundane and less wide-ranging.

These considerations suggest that the term elite should be applied to most of the named individuals in our study, especially to those who appear in multiple tablets. Although they often do not possess official titles, we have better evidence for their importance to the palace, evidence that is often missing for officeholders: namely, direct attestations of their activities and responsibilities. A common pitfall in the study of the elite is to conflate formal authority with effective control, since the former is the appearance of power and the latter *is* power.[53] The prosopographical data would seem to indicate that an official title, no matter how elevated, did not necessarily translate into importance in activities monitored in the Linear B tablets. Through the study of named individuals, we come closer to observing effective control.

The other pillar supporting the traditional definition of elite as officeholder was the presumed dominance of the palace over society at large. Now that it is clear that there was considerable room for activity at the edges of and even outside of palatial control, it is possible to see individuals located outside of the palatial hierarchy of officeholders as elite. Above I drew attention to the fact that herders of palatial flocks must have had animals of their own in order for the palatial system of animal husbandry to have functioned effectively. Other examples suggest similar situations in other economic fields, such as metallurgy. The Jn series records the names of about 270 smiths, two-thirds of whom are given allotments of metal.[54] The small size of these annual allotments (1.5–12 kg, with an average of 3.5 kg) suggests that these smiths were part-time laborers.[55] It is striking that there are so many smiths in the Pylian polity: it is probable that the Jn series is

52 Rougemont 2009, pp. 262–277, 401–422, with bibliography.

53 Giddens 1974, p. 13.

54 Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 61–62; Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 509.

55 It is possible that the large population of part-time producers is a strategy to maximize flexibility of production (Costin 1996, p. 212).

incomplete and if so the number of smiths would have originally stood at about 400.[56] This large number is seen by some as evidence of their low-status, but this is inconsistent with the prosopographical evidence.[57] There is also evidence to suggest that most, if not all, smiths were landholders. The Na and Ma taxation documents mention smiths in the plural 17 times. Consequently they must have been able to make contributions, and in the case of the Na series, Chadwick showed that the tax assessments were based on landholdings set aside for flax cultivation.[58] Since the amounts of metal allocation to the smiths by the palace were quite low, and about one-third of the named smiths are actually not given an allocation in the particular year to which our documents date, it seems unlikely that these craft specialists were entirely dependent on the palace for their metal. Instead they were most likely semi-independent producers who also engaged in occasional work for the palace. There is also evidence that two smiths provided alum to the palace (see above, section 3.1.9). It seems that these individuals must have acquired the raw material on their own initiative, since the alum was purchased from them with bulky staple goods that could not have traveled well.[59]

It therefore seems that named individuals were very often of high standing, both within and outside of the palatial system. Indeed, it is likely that these men and women were important agents in other institutions that existed alongside the palace. Although our understanding of these institutions is obscure due to the fact that all of the preserved documents relate strictly to palatial economic concerns, there are clues in the tablets as to the composition of these organizations. Perhaps the most tantalizing of these is a landholding dispute that includes the longest preserved sentence in Mycenaean Greek:

Ep 704

.5 e-ri-ta , i-je-re-ja , e-ke , e-u-ke-to-qe , e-to-ni-jo , e-ke-e , te-o , da-mo-de-mi , pa-si , ko-to-na-o ,
.6 ke-ke-me-na-o , o-na-to , e-ke-e , to-so pe-mo GRA 3 T 9̣

[56] Lejeune 1971, pp. 194–195; Ventris and Chadwick 1973, pp. 356, 508–509; but see Smith 1995, pp. 171–172 n. 4.

[57] Killen 2001a, p. 173.

[58] Ventris and Chadwick 1973, pp. 468–473; followed by Foster 1981, pp. 76, 83; de Fidio 1987, p. 139; Halstead 2001, p. 44; Killen 2008, pp. 168–171. A single smith appears on Nn 831.11, showing that these holdings were individual in at least one case.

[59] Killen 1995a, p. 220.

> *Erithā* the priestess holds and claims to hold an *etōnion* for the god,[60] but the *dāmos* says that she holds a lease of *ke-ke-me-na* plots, so much seed [grain]: WHEAT 374 liters.

The dispute revolves around the legal status of a fairly large plot of land held by the priestess of *Sphagiānes* (*pa-ki-ja-ne*). While *Erithā* claims that her land is an *etōnion*, a privileged landholding whose name probably means "true benefit," the *dāmos* considers that she holds multiple plots of *ke-ke-me-na* land. Although the precise meaning of these technical landholding terms remains obscure, it seems likely that *Erithā*'s claim aimed at reducing or eliminating her obligation to pay taxes to the *dāmos*.[61] The scribe who wrote the preliminary document (Hand 41, Eb 297) that records this same dispute uses the term "plot-holders" (*ktoinohokhoi, ko-to-no-o-ko*) in place of the term *dāmos* used by the scribe of Ep 704 (Hand 1, the "master scribe" of Pylos).[62] This correspondence suggests that the plot-holders constituted or controlled the *dāmos*.[63] In fact, we know the names of 12 of these men at *Sphagiānes*, six of whom are also *telestai*.[64] My prosopographical analysis shows that three of these men can be identified with certainty as smiths, with a fourth prosopographical identification classed as possible.[65]

The precise relationship between the *dāmoi* and the palace is uncertain, but the fact the *dāmoi* had their own administrative procedures suggests that they were somewhat independent.[66] Killen and Halstead have suggested that the palace provided working oxen to the *dāmoi* and in return agricultural goods were delivered to the palace.[67] This cooperative, if asymmetrical, arrangement is strikingly similar to the way that animal husbandry was organized. In both cases, the palace provided substantial investments of

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60 Or "claims that the god holds an *etōnion*," but see Hill 2002, pp. 11–12 and n. 3; Duhoux 2008, pp. 300–302.

61 Lupack 2008a, pp. 66–68. Possibly the palace supports the claims of *Erithā* over those of the *dāmos*, if *etōnion* is the object of the verb (*h*)*ekhei* (*e-ke*). A similar intervention is made by the Macedonian king Demetrius II, who orders the city of Beroia to render to the god the revenues that had been diverted to public funds in 248 BC (*SIG*$^{3}$ 459; R. Parker 2011, p. 53, with references).

62 Palaima 1988 on the scribal hands.

63 Lejeune 1973, p. 147; Deger-Jalkotzy 1983, pp. 90–91.

64 Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 88.

65 Certain prosopographical identifications are *a-da-ma-o, a-tu-ko*, and *wa-na-ta-jo* (see above, sections 2.4, 3.1.10); the name *ko-tu-ro*$_2$ may possibly belong to a herder and smith.

66 Lejeune 1965; Deger-Jalkotzy 1983, p. 90; Lupack 2008a, p. 67; 2011. Halstead 2011, p. 50, sounds a note of caution.

67 Killen 1998a; Halstead 2001. Working oxen are allocated in various Ce, Ch, and C texts from Knossos for plowing; see de Fidio 1992, pp. 183–184; Killen 1995b.

livestock and received agricultural goods in return.[68] The glimpses that the tablets provide us of the role of the *dāmos* show that these local administrative bodies coordinated a variety of agricultural activities, from monitoring landholdings to fattening pigs; presumably they also played an important role organizing agricultural activity on a local level. Prominent individuals, both officeholding *telestai* and smiths, were apparently involved with the *dāmos* and the palace at the same time.

*Erithā*'s dispute also raises the possibility that religious institutions, as well as the *dāmos*, were somewhat independent of, while actively engaged with, the central political authority. Lupack's study of the textual and archaeological evidence suggests that religious organizations were active in a variety of economic pursuits and were not fully dependent on the palace.[69] The header of Jn 829 implies that regional officers of the palace (the *korētēres* and *prokorētēres*) had to work together with many local religious officials to collect the temple bronze requisitioned by the palatial authority. This particular collection required cooperation and negotiation.[70] Bendall has shown that the palaces' budget for religious matters was a small percentage of the resources available to them, and therefore could not have fully supported the sanctuaries to which they sent offerings.[71] Religious officials are nevertheless commonly encountered in the Linear B texts. As *Erithā*'s claim that she holds her land "for the god" shows, the authority of these religious personnel did not derive entirely from the palace.

The evidence taken as a whole indicates that named individuals were not simply important agents in the palatial system; they were also important in other institutions and in their local communities. They almost certainly had substantial holdings of their own. Since it is impossible to distinguish clear categories or ranks for the full range of named individuals, any strict division of these individuals into elite and nonelite groups would be arbitrary. For the same reasons the introduction of a third term (such as "intermediate elite") would not improve conceptual clarity.[72] Certainly the criterion of holding office cannot be used, unless we are willing to declare three of the four "collectors" and other important administrators nonelite. It seems best therefore to say that the named individuals belonged to a broad elite

68 Halstead 2001, pp. 47–50.
69 Lupack 2008a, 2011.
70 Palaima 2001, pp. 157–159.
71 Bendall 2007.
72 For a recent discussion of "intermediate elites," see Elson and Covey 2006.

group that interacted with the palace. Numerically this is plausible: there are about 800 named individuals attested, just under 2 % of the polity's total population. If we bump this number up to an even 1,000, this still constitutes only 8 % of the adult male population, a figure that is well within the range of the size of elite groups in other ancient cultures.[73]

Thus far I have made a positive argument for the elite status of individuals identified by name in the Linear B texts. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that individuals that do not appear in the texts at all are nonelite. Indeed, it seems clear that many of the men and women in the texts have sources of wealth and authority that are not directly dependent on the palace. There is certainly room for members of the elite who do not appear at all in our texts. The preserved documents represent a tiny fraction of all the documents that would have been composed over the course of one year (see above, section 2.1). Although it is likely that some elite families rarely, if ever, engaged in activities that resulted in their names being inscribed in clay, there were incentives for them to participate in palatially monitored activities, as I argue below.[74]

## 5.5. Individuals and the State

Whether or not we call these individuals elite is less important than our understanding of what they did and how they related to the central institutions of Mycenaean Pylos, especially the palace, the only institution for which we have direct evidence. It seems clear that the activities of named individuals collectively constituted an important aspect of palatial management, and that some of the named individuals were significant actors in activities monitored by the palace. What remains unclear is whether and to what extent individuals' involvement with the palace was voluntary or

[73] By comparison, the population of the wealthy elite of Classical Athens has been estimated at 5–10 % of the total population of Attica (Ober 1989, pp. 127–129), and similar estimates have been made for the Classic Maya (Chase and Chase 1992, p. 15; Restall 2001, pp. 353–358), Aztec (Hassig 2007, p. 318 and n. 15), and New Kingdom Egypt (Baines 1996, p. 343 and n. 11).

[74] There are many reasons why elite families may not have interacted much with the palatial authority. These families may have been more involved in local affairs. Cf. Osborne 1985, pp. 83–87, who shows that 4th century BC Attic demarchs were largely men of moderate wealth and status who were mostly involved in local political affairs and rarely active in *polis* politics. Resistance (Galaty 2010, pp. 238–240) and marginalization (political or geographical) are also both possibilities.

whether these individuals were subordinates whose labor was required by the palace. I argue in this section that these individuals are unlikely to have been subordinates.

There are good reasons to suspect that in the case of the named individuals, engagement in the palatial economy provided a benefit to them. As we have seen above with respect to animal husbandry, individual herders stood to profit materially and symbolically from their relationship to the palace, because the palace was not particularly interested in specific animals. Smiths were probably compensated for their work by tax remissions in the Ma and Na series. There are also analogical grounds to argue for the voluntary involvement of named individuals in palatial affairs. I suggested above (section 5.4) that other named individuals were not qualitatively different from the "collectors" in the broad sense of the term (i.e., prominent named individuals with substantial interests in the palatial economy). There are indications that the "collectors" were high-level members of the elite. The fact that their activities are tracked by the palatial administration implies some measure of palatial interest, perhaps even control. As discussed already (section 1.1), there is considerable debate about the social position of the "collectors." Killen has suggested "that they are prominent members of the ruling élite (members of the royal family, high palace officials and the like) who have been assigned part of the productive capacity of the kingdoms for their own benefit."[75] Killen buttresses his position through comparison with Ur III Mesopotamia, where sheep ownership is dominated by the households of the king, queen, state officials, and the temple of Nanna.[76] These institutional households are not the only potential point of comparison, however; recent work has shown that as early as the Ur III period the unofficial economic activities of individuals were an important part of the state economy.[77] These individuals were heads of noninstitutional households upon whom institutional households relied to manage various economic operations.[78] It is equally possible to compare the Mycenaean "collectors" to these Mesopotamian entrepreneurs, individuals who could hold important positions as administrators but also had various interests of their own. This might explain why "collectors" are referred to by personal name rather than by official title, why their activities are so diverse,

[75] Killen 1995a, p. 213.

[76] Killen 1995a, pp. 213–214, citing Waetzoldt 1972, p. 34.

[77] Garfinkle 2005, p. 394, with references.

[78] Such arrangements were even more common in the Old Bablyonian period; see Renger 2000.

and why it is difficult to separate out the "collectors" from other named individuals. So, although the activities of "collectors" were tracked by the palatial documents, their high standing makes it difficult to imagine that they were merely employees of the palace. The "collectors" stand at one end of the continuum of named individuals; this seems corroborated by the progressive expansion of criteria by which "collectors" are defined, leading to an increase in their number.[79] It seems plausible therefore that other significiant figures in the palatial sphere would be subject to similar constraints and advantages.[80]

The central authorities do not seem to have completely subordinated individuals and communities to their rule, if that was even possible. Instead, there seems to be a give and take. This hardly means that these were equal exchanges, but it does suggest that the *wanax* couldn't simply force his will upon indivdiuals. This is consistent with my argument that many of these individuals were people of considerable standing in their own communities. It is therefore possible to suggest that individuals entered into work for the palace, as it were, voluntarily. There appear to have been considerable material advantages to doing so, but even if there were not, the palace was in a position to offer rewards for valued service. It seems clear that plots of *dāmos* land were allocated to certain palatial craftsmen in compensation for their services.[81] Indeed, the word for an allocation of land, *onāton* (Linear B *o-na-to*), usually translated "lease," literally means "advantage" (from the same root as ὀνίνημι).[82] The royal armorer, fuller, and potter are all landholders at *Sphagiānes*, and other individuals described as being associated with the *lāwāgetās* appear as landholders in the Ea series. The palace also allocated material tokens of status to individuals, and it not unreasonable to suspect that these were given as rewards for loyalty.[83] It is also possible that allocations of textiles and perhaps other goods were made to loyal followers on the occasion of public ceremonies such as feasts.[84] Finally, it is likely that the *wanax* appointed individuals to hold office on the basis of their

79 Rougemont 2001; 2009, pp. 262–277.

80 Cf. Shelmerdine 2006, p. 84; 2011.

81 Gregersen 1997b.

82 Aura Jorro 1993, pp. 26–27, s.v. *o-na-to*. Palaima 2012 draws a parallel between Mycenaean *onāta* and Carolingian *beneficia*.

83 There probably included glass beads, ivories, textiles, and other goods (Bennet 2008, p. 163). The hides in the Qa series are called *ke-ra-e-we* on Un 1482, perhaps *gerahēwes* from Greek γέρας, "prize of honor" (Melena 2002b, pp. 380–384); see too Killen 2002.

84 Textiles appear in small numbers in tablets recording feasts at Pylos (Un 2, Un 6).

loyalty.[85] Individuals thus stood to make significant gains through participation in the palatial economic system, but this need not have been their only or even primary motivation. If we see the palatial system as an arena in which individuals compete for influence and authority, then individuals may have seen participation in palatial activities as a way—perhaps even *the* way—to maintain their standing in the community.[86]

The palace also profited as an institution from the fact that individuals were able and willing to accept managerial responsibilities, since it radically simplified the administration. For instance, the substantial private flocks of sheep allowed the palace to ignore the problems associated with maintaining palatial flocks at full strength.[87] If herders had been pure dependents of the palace, then palatial flocks would have necessarily been restocked by the center, or not at all, requiring individual authentications for each accidental death to prevent fraudulent reports.[88] Likewise, we only have evidence that smiths were allocated metal to work into finished products; other inputs associated with metallurgy, such as fuel, may have been supplied by the smiths themselves. This is consistent with the pattern that Killen and Halstead have observed for grain production, where the palace supplies an expensive capital input while the other party supplies the rest of the inputs, and the palace receives a share of what is produced.[89]

## 5.6. Theorizing the Individual

In the discussion thus far I have attempted to understand the responsibilities and opportunities of the named individuals of my study, as well as the kinds of choices they made. This is obviously a difficult exercise given the type of evidence at our disposal: we do not have direct access to any statements about the motivations of any Pylian individual. Even in the cases where we have an extraordinarily rich source, such as the tablets recording the dispute between *Erithā* and the *dāmos*, it is far from clear what is

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[85] The *wanax* certainly appoints the *dāmokoros* (Ta 711.1). Palaima 1995b, p. 632, argues persuasively that *Augēwās* is appointed *dāmokoros* of the Hither Province in Ta 711.

[86] This view of the state would explain the presence of contributions of animals for state-sponsored feasts made by members of the elite (Killen 1994; Palaima 2004a, p. 105; Shelmerdine 2008b; cf. the discussion in Nakassis 2012a, pp. 23–25). On the state as a political arena, see Giddens 1995, p. 207; Blanton 1998, p. 140.

[87] Halstead 1999a, 2002.

[88] Cf. Postgate 1992, p. 160.

[89] Killen 1998a; Halstead 2001.

happening. *Erithā* might be acting in her own economic interest (perhaps she did not want to pay taxes on her land) or in the economic interests of the sanctuary of which she was priestess, or something else entirely might be going on.[90]

Another objection may be raised to my discussion of individual decision-making: that it presumes a particular notion of the individual, especially one who is motivated primarily by wealth and power. Many historical and archaeological analyses assume that individual agents are inherently competitive aggrandizers in a zero-sum political game.[91] This approach is subject to criticism on multiple grounds: it can only account for elite politics, especially male power politics, and therefore fails to explain how daily life is constituted and how particular forms of social action emerge.[92] These critiques apply to my discussion insofar as I have invoked notions of individual interest, especially with regard to how participation in palatial systems may have provided individuals with access to material and symbolic resources. On the other hand, I am not making a universal claim about human nature, but rather a more limited claim about individual interactions in one particular field: the palatial sphere in Mycenaean Pylos. In some historical contexts individuals do act in what they perceive to be their self-interests: for instance, when we do have high-quality historical evidence in the Greek world, members of the elite do in fact perceive many fields to be a competitive zero-sum game.[93] Since we cannot really speak to individual motivations in the case of Mycenaean Pylos, however, we may assert that a model in which individuals act as if they are aiming to optimize their social standing in the political community does a good job of explaining the patterns in the data.[94] Certainly the emphasis on elite competition has been productive in understanding historical developments in Archaic Greece.[95]

This model does not provide us with a particularly strong theory of the Pylian individual—something that the evidence does not allow for in any

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[90] For the argument that *Erithā* represents the sanctuary of *pa-ki-ja-ne*, see Lupack 2007, p. 55; 2008a, pp. 66–68; Shelmerdine and Bennet 2008, p. 300.

[91] This is not to say that the results of this game are zero-sum, however, as Rob Schon has pointed out to me.

[92] Robb 2010, pp. 496–497. See too J. Parker 2000, pp. 45–51. Cf. Wengrow 2009, pp. 142–143.

[93] Gouldner 1965, pp. 40–64; see Beidelmann 1989, Donlan 1993, Wilson 2002 on Homer.

[94] Cf. Swartz 1997, pp. 66–73, on Bourdieu's discussions of interest.

[95] Forsdyke 2005, pp. 15–29; Osborne 2009, pp. 174–185. This is not to claim that the contexts of elite competition in Mycenaean and Archaic Greece are the same; they are manifestly not.

case—but it does allow us to comprehend Mycenaean society as a more fluid and dynamic social system, which thereby constitutes an improvement in our understanding of the contexts of individual action.[96] We can model the interactions in the Linear B texts as the results of competitive interactions between individuals with different resources and skills at their disposal. This means that the institutions of the Mycenaean world, especially the palace, are not monolithic entities that act on individuals or are acted upon by individuals. They are instead fields that are constituted by individual actions while at the same time they condition and structure that action.

This approach allows us to avoid the mistake of seeing the individual as somehow external to state and society, a notion inherited from Enlightenment thought.[97] Mycenaean studies, as I pointed out in Chapter One, have traditionally thought of public life as monopolized by palaces that are regulated by bureaucratic officers. Archaeological critiques of this model pointed out how much activity must have lay beyond palatial control, but largely left the rigid internal constitution of the palace intact. Paul Halstead divided the Mycenaean economy into two spheres, one controlled by the palace and another outside of palatial control.[98] This heuristic division of economic exchanges has sometimes encouraged the view that the individuals also belong to these spheres. Craft producers, for instance, are sometimes described as belonging exclusively to one of the two spheres: they are either attached to the palace or independent producers.[99] Yet it seems clear that this overly rigid attached/independent dichotomy is a modern imposition; individual Mycenaeans played multiple roles that mixed what we would call "public" and "private" affairs.[100] The scholarly interest in resistance to palatial authority has also encouraged some scholars to align individual self-interest with conscious opposition to the palace,[101] and participation in pala-

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[96] Nakassis 2013.

[97] Williams 2001, pp. 68–70.

[98] Halstead 1992.

[99] See, e.g., Gillis 1997, Tournavitou and Sugerman 2000. The dichotomy between independent and attached production is common in earlier typologies of craft production (Earle 1981, Costin 1991), but more recent studies (Costin 2001) stress that they are extremes located on a continuum. The dichotomy does not apply to all craft specialists; for instance, it is not normally assumed that the "royal potter" only produces vessels for the palace only (Palaima 1997; Whitelaw 2001).

[100] Cf. Garfinkle 2005, p. 386: "the Ancient Near East was characterized by situations in which individuals filled multiple roles at the same time, and these roles involved what we regard as both public and private functions."

[101] Burns 2010, pp. 115, 119, 189, 196. Indeed, Burns' consumers mainly empower themselves

tial affairs as servitude.[102] The tendency to categorize individuals as either rigid conformists (palatial) or independent nonconformists (non-palatial) is too simple a model, as Raymond Williams has pointed out.[103]

## 5.7. Individuals in History

Thus far, discussion of these individuals has been limited to the documentary evidence, which dates to the final year of the palace's existence ca. 1200 BC. But we also need to put these individuals into their broader material and historical context. I suggest that the best explanation of the data in the tablets is that these individuals belong to elite groups, from members of the royal household to various levels of the regional elite located in outlying districts of the polity. I argued above that named individuals performed important activities for the palace, perhaps voluntarily. I also maintained that there are good reasons to think that these individuals were not low-status palatial dependents, but that they were by and large people of considerable substance with respect to the institutions that operated in the palatial territory of Bronze Age Messenia (the palace, the *dāmos*, and the sanctuary) and their own personal holdings. It does not seem to be coincidental that many named individuals were important both inside and outside the palace. Indeed, many economic fields monitored by the palace rely on resources outside of palatial purview. In the Linear B texts from Pylos we do not see state-run agricultural estates, large flocks under direct palatial control, or any metallurgical workshops.[104] Instead, these activities are split up into many small elements and are parceled out, or perhaps even "contracted out," to specific individuals. The average landholding at *Sphagiānes* is about GRA 1 (equivalent at most to 3 hectares), the average flock size in the Cn tablets is about 100 sheep, and the average yearly

through links to the outside world, allowing them to claim foreign sources of authority that were external to the palace (Burns 2010, p. 191).

102 Bendall 2004, pp. 126–128.

103 Williams 2001, p. 75.

104 On the lack of estates, Killen 1998a; Halstead 2001. The fact that the smiths allocated metal are located in groups at obscure toponyms has suggested to many temporary encampments where smiths gathered to work the metal (Killen 1979a; 2006b, pp. 97–98), but these are still not workshops. Some evidence for metallurgical workshops can be found in groups called *g*$^{w}$*asilēwiai* (Linear B *qa-si-re-wi-ja*) that at Knossos deliver finished goods to the palace (Killen 1987). For other industries, all of which involved named individuals for their management, see Schon 2011.

allocation of metal to smiths is about 3.5 kg.[105] This palatial strategy of allocating work to many individuals is hardly unique to these fields, but it seems significant that these individuals are identified by name in all these cases, and that in many cases they are important individuals. Rather than having extensive state-run undertakings, the palace was apparently content to allocate jobs to individuals who were simply responsible for their completion. This arrangement could have been a reaction to the logistical complications associated with large-scale projects, but it cannot have been the only reason. After all, these palatial systems presuppose the existence of, and indeed make effective use of, non-palatial practices and resources that must have already been in place. Herders did not begin keeping their own flocks in response to demands that they maintain palatial herds at full strength; instead these palatial systems must have come into being in response to earlier pre-palatial conditions.[106]

It is plausible that these palatial systems have very deep roots and reflect the traditional economic interests of the elite leaders of early Mycenaean communities, who must have been prominent holders of agricultural land and livestock, if only because their flocks allowed them to provide meat in ritualized settings and served as an excellent way to store surplus agricultural production on the hoof.[107] Metallurgy would have been important not only to the hunting and military activities that seem to be central to early Mycenaean elite identity, but also as tokens of wealth that could be displayed or exchanged.[108] There is some evidence for metalwork in pre-palatial Messenia: excavations at Nichoria have provided evidence for bronzework early in the Middle Bronze Age, and Matthäus has argued for the existence of a metallurgical workshop in Messenia.[109] It therefore seems that the palatial economy emerged in large part by successfully integrating the personal holdings of the elite and local communities into palatial systems of production.[110] This integration was not absolute, however, and

[105] On plot sizes, see Bennett 1956a, p. 123; Duhoux 1974, pp. 31–33; Lane 2009, pp. 110–113. On metal allocations, see Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 356. I calculated the average sizes of flocks of male sheep: the mean is 102.2, the median 93.5.

[106] Bennet 2007a, pp. 197, 199, and cf. Bennet 1985, 2007b. Cf. Shelmerdine 2006, p. 75, on the likelihood that the organization of landholding was adapted from pre-palatial systems.

[107] See Wright 1995 on the importance of ritual. See Flannery 1969; Halstead and O'Shea 1982 on livestock as storage.

[108] Wright 2008.

[109] Rapp et al. 1978; Cooke and Nielsen 1978; Howell 1992, pp. 26–28; McDonald et al. 1992, p. 759. Matthäus 1980, pp. 341–342, doubted by Wright 1995, p. 70.

[110] A similar strategy of cooption has been hypothesized for the Ur III state: Garfinkle 2008, pp. 58–59.

involved significant levels of cooperation between the palace and the individuals and communities involved.[111]

The other striking feature about Pylian individuals is that those who appear in more than one tablet tend to be multitasking agents rather than specialists, and their activities are sometimes geographically dispersed. This spatial and topical diversity is common among members of the elite in Classical Greece and in the contemporary societies in the Near East.[112] Clearly, the geographical extension of the activities of the elite was made possible by the political expansion of the Pylian polity during LH III (1390/1370–1200/1190 BC). The relatively large (ca. 2,300 km$^2$) territory may have encouraged them to diversify their holdings to minimize risk; equally spatial diversification might have been encouraged by palatial authorities who sought to prevent members of the elite from building up local power bases.[113]

The historical expansion of the Pylian state is important to understanding how these individuals came to be participants in the palatial system. John Bennet has argued that the expansion of Pylos' political authority began in LH I–II (1700/1675–1420/1410 BC) in its immediate vicinity, with the Hither province and Nichoria coming under Pylian control by LH IIIA2 (1390/70–1330/15 BC), and the rest of the Further Province at the beginning of LH IIIB (1330/15–1200/1190 BC).[114] Prior to their incorporation into the Pylian state, these settlements were presumably the rivals of Pylos, and their elite families competed with the leading Pylian households. The region where the palace would eventually be built is dense with Middle Helladic tumuli and early tholos tombs, probably representing the burial places of members of the local elite and their followers. The site of Beylerbey, located less than 5 km from the palace, was a thriving early Mycenaean settlement associated with one of the earliest tholos tombs.[115] Although settlement at Pylos continued to grow into the late Mycenaean period (LH III), Beylerbey barely increased in size. The fate of Beylerbey contrasts markedly with that of Ordines, a small site in the early Mycenaean period without an

111 Palaima 2012.

112 Greece: Davies 1971; 1981, pp. 52–55; Geagan 1992. Near East: Lipiński 1988, pp. 131–133; Postgate 1992, p. 151; Keith 2003. In Athens at least, this diversity is not limited to the wealthiest elite; see Osborne 1985, p. 185.

113 Cf. Baines and Yoffee 1998, p. 223.

114 Bennet 1995, 1998, 1999, 2007b; Bennet and Davis 1999; Bennet and Shelmerdine 2001; Shelmerdine 2001. Ongoing excavations at the site of Iklaina: Traghanes should prove to improve our understanding of this complex process (Cosmopoulos 2006; Shelmerdine 2011, p. 27). Absolute dates are taken from Manning 2010.

115 Boyd 2002, p. 125.

associated tholos tomb: Ordines doubled in size from the early Mycenaean to late Mycenaean period.[116] It therefore seems that former rivals stagnated, with the palatial settlement growing at their expense, while other sites grew in response to the expansion of Pylian authority as secondary or tertiary administrative centers. This is probably reflected in the tomb evidence: many of the tholos tombs in the vicinity of the palace go out of use in LH IIIA. Bennet suggests that this reflects the demotion of the settlement sites from rivals to subordinates, but it would be more accurate to say that it reflects the reduced status and prerogatives of the burying group, presumably local elite families.[117]

Other interventions were more dramatic still.[118] At Nichoria, there seems to have been a discontinuity in LH IIIA2: the "megaron," the largest and most well-appointed house in the settlement (Unit IV-4A), went out of use and apparently was not replaced.[119] Around the same time, early in LH IIIA2, a new tholos tomb was built (the MME tholos) as an older tomb went out of use (the Veves tholos).[120] Bennet plausibly associates these changes with the subordination of Nichoria to an external power—probably Pylos itself. Indeed, the abandonment of a prominent house and tomb, with the establishment of a new tholos tomb, seems to bespeak changes with respect to not only the site's external affairs (demotion) but also its internal affairs, with one burying group promoted and another demoted. Bennet tentatively hypothesizes that the "new monumental tomb structure represented the establishment of a new ruling elite at the site, perhaps under the sponsorship of an external power."[121]

The expansion of the Pylian state therefore entailed the subordinating of settlements, some of which were once rivals of Pylos, along with the leading families of these communities. For some of these groups, incorporation into the Pylian state must have had effects that were harmful to disastrous, but for others, it was an opportunity. It is plausible that these members of the regional elite would have continued to engage in traditional pursuits, albeit in new circumstances that introduced both new constraints and

[116] Shelmerdine 2001.
[117] Bennet 1995, p. 598; 1999, p. 146; Shelmerdine and Bennet 2008, p. 303.
[118] For the possibility of the site of Mouriatadha replacing Peristeria in LH IIIB, see Bennet 1995, pp. 599–600; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, pp. 167–168; criticized by Pantou 2011, pp. 250–254.
[119] Aschenbrenner et al. 1992, pp. 433–439.
[120] McDonald et al. 1992, pp. 766–767; Bennet 1995, pp. 598–599.
[121] Bennet 1995, p. 599; see too Shelmerdine and Bennet 2008, p. 303.

opportunities. The palatial economy was substantially larger than anything that preceded it, both in terms of its territorial extent and the resources at its disposal, and participation in this emerging economic system may have been attractive to newly absorbed Messenian elite groups. From the perspective of Pylos, the cooperation of local elite groups must have been crucial to the successful integration of these communities into a cohesive state.[122] By the time the named individuals of our study were born, however, the palace at Pylos was fully functioning as an administrative seat of a polity whose territory embraced the western coastal plain as well as the Pamisos River valley, and only their grandparents would have remembered a time before the palace commanded both provinces.

## 5.8. Rethinking Pylian Society

Previous approaches have argued that the Mycenaean state virtually monopolized public affairs through a simple but powerful bureaucratic mechanism. This understanding has framed the interpretation of Mycenaean society, such that emphasis has been placed on institutional roles and their position in the administrative system. As a consequence, individuals have been virtually ignored. Analysis of the prosopographical record suggests, however, that we need to abandon a strict model in which individuals' roles are circumscribed and administratively fixed. Instead of modeling the palace at Pylos as a bureaucratic entity that determines social structure, we can consider it an arena of interaction and competition populated by individuals and groups with various agendas and resources. This way of thinking provides a number of advantages. First, it allows us to account for all of the textual evidence, namely the diverse activities of named individuals, anonymous officials, and corporate groups. Second, it is broadly based; rather than focusing on a handful of social roles, especially those at the top of the palatial hierarchy, this approach adds information about nearly 900 named individuals to the picture. Third, it is more fluid and can account for change over time. In the traditional model, it is difficult to explain changes because each social role is fixed by the central authority. Thus only the collapse of the palaces can create the potential for change (e.g., the promotion of the role of the *g*ʷ*asileus*; see above, section 1.1). If the palace is a structured arena where individuals and groups interact, on the other hand, then

122 Bennet and Davis 1999; Palaima 2008, 2012; Schon 2009.

there is the potential for change.[123] The basic script of public interactions may have been written by political authorities like the *wanax*, but it also seems likely that there was room for other agents to maneuver.[124] Fourth, and finally, this approach integrates study of the palace with that of society, rather than seeing the palace as something distinct from society at large. Some scholars have seen the palace being only superficially connected with its broader social and economic context,[125] or a centralized and hierarchical system in contrast to the anti-system of Mycenaean society.[126] While such proposals may explain the demise of the Mycenaean palatial system, they struggle to explain its emergence and internal operation.[127] Hence de Fidio rightly points out that the palace and village communities should be seen "in terms of an intense and dynamic relationship, and not as static opposites," and that this relationship is mediated by "entrepreneurs."[128] I have argued that these figures are much more numerous than has been appreciated hitherto: the named individuals who populate the Linear B texts were also active members of vibrant communities of Mycenaean Messenia.

The results of this approach and the analysis of Pylian prosopography are striking. In the traditional model Mycenaean society was split into functional categories of individual, classed by rank and by area of activity, which fit together like cogs in a machine. Administrators made decisions in their respective areas of responsibility (the *lāwāgetās* and *hekʷetai* in military affairs, priests and priestesses in religious affairs, *koretēres* in local affairs, etc.), craft producers specialized in particular goods and depended on the palace for remuneration, and so on.[129] I have suggested that it is often difficult to peg named Pylian individuals to fixed ranks or functional specializations. Instead, diversity of activities is characteristic of named individuals where we can observe it, as it is with palatial officials like the *wanax* and

[123] As Giddens 1979, p. 114, asserts, "change, or its potentiality, is … inherent in all moments of social reproduction."

[124] Cf. Scott 1985, p. 26.

[125] Sherratt 2001, p. 215: "There appears to be a rigid, inflexible and essentially static notion of what constitutes a palace, in which the importance of symbols such as written records with an obsessive emphasis on quantification, figured frescoes with a set range of basic themes, and a fixed form of architectural design and layout, seems to override any sense of practical development dictated by individual palatial circumstances or changing economic or political conditions." For a response, see Palaima 2007, pp. 132–135.

[126] Deger-Jalkotzy 1996, pp. 722–725; the term "anti-system" is coined by de Fidio 2001, p. 24.

[127] Hence diffusion from the Near East is commonly invoked: Deger-Jalkotzy 1996, p. 725; Sherratt 2001, p. 238.

[128] de Fidio 2001, p. 23; cf. de Fidio 1987, pp. 148–149.

[129] See Nakassis et al. 2011.

*lāwāgetās* (see above, section 1.1). The overall picture is of a relatively large number of individuals, differentiated from each other largely by the extent of their involvement in activities under palatial purview, who had a variety of interests over a wide geographical area. This broad elite group was directly involved in the day-to-day operations under palatial purview.

Although the Linear B evidence hardly provides us with a complete picture of Pylian society—after all, perhaps some 90% of the Messenian population is textually invisible—the prosopographical evidence does provide us with good evidence for the activities of a large portion of the elite class that was so important to the maintenance of the social and political order.[130] It is primarily through archaeological research that the scope of our understanding of Mycenaean society can be expanded. Focusing on activities of heterogeneous individuals rather than fixed administrative roles has the added advantage of improving our ability to integrate the textual and archaeological data. Jim Wright has suggested, for example, that the standardization and development of the Mycenaean drinking service was driven by demand for statusful commodities by a broad and diverse elite group who were intimately involved in the operation of the palatial system.[131] This group of individuals, identified by Wright largely from the archaeological evidence, can plausibly be correlated with the elite multitaskers named in the Pylos texts.[132] This way of thinking about Mycenaean society can help to resolve long-standing debates in the literature. For instance, the debate about whether the West House Group (or "Ivory Houses") at Mycenae was inhabited by private entrepreneurial individuals or palatial agents is clearly influenced by the either-or thinking of the traditional model of Mycenaean political order.[133] Yet the mix of activities attested in the West House group, some monitored by palatial authorities and others not, is exactly what the Pylian prosopographical records would predict.[134] This common ground

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130 As Shelmerdine and Bennet (2008, p. 308) rightly note, "a history of the Mycenaean 'man on the street' is, as yet, some way off."

131 Wright 2004, pp. 99–101; Schon 2009.

132 Not exactly, of course, but the type of person described by Wright corresponds to the prosopographical profile of multitasking named individuals at Pylos.

133 Wace (in Bennett 1958, pp. 3–4) argued vociferously against the position that the houses were "appendages of the royal administration" (Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 110). For further references, see Pantou 2011, pp. 114–116. The synthesis of Tournavitou (1995, pp. 296–298) concludes that the houses were controlled by "private individuals active on behalf of the palace" (Tournavitou 1995, p. 298), while Pantou (2011, pp. 110–202) has argued that the West House group was inhabited by non-palatial autonomous social units.

134 Cf. Burns 2010, p. 194. It is, of course, impossible to generalize from the Pylian data

between the written and archaeological data is one of the most important contributions of this approach, for it is impossible to imagine significant further progress in the study of Mycenaean society without the productive combination of material and textual evidence.

to the entire Mycenaean world, and therefore this explanation must remain tentative. It is nevertheless possible that the pattern established for the named individuals of Pylos applies in general terms to Mycenae also, despite the growing recognition of the differences between the organization of different palatial centers (Shelmerdine 1999).

## APPENDIX

# A PROSOPOGRAPHY OF MYCENAEAN PYLOS

This appendix is a catalogue of every possible personal name attested at Pylos. It thus constitutes an update of Lindgren's prosopography, now 40 years old.[1] It differs from its predecessor in two respects. First, it is compiled from the most recent versions of the texts available (the fourth volume of *The Palace of Nestor*, currently in preparation), which can differ substantially from the texts used by Lindgren.[2] Second, it reflects the methodological changes presented in Chapter Two and applied to groups of named individuals in Chapters Three and Four. It also supplements the discussion in the text. Although many names have already been analyzed, the focus has been on the prosopographcial identification of relatively large groups of recurring names, which comprise a minority of Pylian names. This appendix discusses all instances of every name in the texts at Pylos, including fragmentary and uncertain names, thereby filling in whatever gaps have been left.

The appendix is organized alphabetically. In the first line, the transcribed name first appears in bold, followed by likely renderings of that name in Greek.[3] The main entry is always in the nominative, assuming that we know with some certainty what that form is or would be; if a nominative form must be extrapolated because it is not attested, I put an asterisk before it (e.g., **we-da-ne-u*). Below the first line, I list every occurrence of the name at Pylos. On the same line with every occurrence I have assigned a value to assess the certainty that any given occurrence is actually a personal name: certain, probable, possible, and doubtful. I also give the case of each entry (nominative, genitive, dative, etc.). For each occurrence, I also list the toponym with which it is associated, and, where possible, the rough location of that toponym.[4]

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1 Lindgren 1973.

2 Bennett et al. in prep. This volume takes into account the many joins made by José Melena published in *Minos* (Melena 1995a, 1995b, 1997a, 1997b, 1998a, 1998b, 2002a, 2002b).

3 Greek interpretations are based on Aura Jorro's (1985, 1993) dictionary of Mycenaean Greek, supplemented by more recent onomastic studies. For alphabetic parallels I rely on Bechtel [1917] 1964 and the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*.

4 For the locations of toponyms I rely on Sainer 1976, and Aura Jorro 1985, 1993. I assume that the sites associated with *pi-*82* (*a₂-pa-tu-wo-te*, *wa-no-jo wo-wo*, *ma-ro*, and *wi-ja-we-ra₂*)

Below the list of a name's occurrences, I give the probability that the entries of a given name (if there are multiple attestations of the name) represent the same individual—certain, probable, tenuous—and discuss my criteria for doing so in each case, with reference to discussions in the text. Immediately after the probability of prosopographical identification there are, in most cases, three numbers: the first is the minimum number of individuals represented by this name, the second is the maximum number, and the third is the probable number, as judged by my prosopographical criteria. If no numbers are listed, this is because the name is incomplete and may match up with another name already attested (for example, *a*-[ may represent *a*-[*ko-so-ta*], or *a*-[ ]-*to* may represent *a*-[*ki*]-*to*).

Some terms and abbreviations I use are:

Hypocoristic: A short form of a compound name, as for example *pe-ri-mo* (*Perimos*), which is a shortened form of a compound like *pe-ri-me-de* (*Perimēdēs*).
HP: The Hither Province of Pylos, located on the western side of the Aigaleon range.
FP: The Further Province of Pylos, located on the eastern side of the Aigaleon range.

## A

1. **a**[
Cn 254.9: certain, genitive — *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)

The name of a "collector," probably *a*[-*ke-o-jo*, associated with a herd of 48̣ female pigs herded by *a-ko-to-wo*.

2. **a**[
Vn 34.8: probable, genitive — none

The beginning of what is probably a man's name in the genitive. The rest of the line is missing.

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are located in the HP even though they may be in the FP, given that *pi-*82* is probably located near the border between the two provinces, with easy communication to the FP via the Soulima valley. I also accept Killen's argument that *te-ko-to-*(*n*)*a-pe* is a toponym (Killen 1998b). Based on its association with *mu-ta-pi* and *qe-re-me-ti-re*, both of which are in or around *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (see Cn 4), I associate *te-ko-to-*(*n*)*a-pe* with the Further Province generally, and specifically with *a-si-ja-ti-ja*. Finally, I list *a-to-mo* and ]-*nu-we-jo* in the Jn series as toponyms; although it has been argued that these refer to "collectors" (Killen 1995a, p. 214), in my view this argument has not eliminated the possibility of these words being toponyms (see Palmer 1963, p. 281).

3. **ạ[**
Cn 485.2: probable, nominative? *da-we-u-pi*

The name of a herder. The size and composition of his flock is not preserved.

4. **ạ[**
Cn 702.2: certain, genitive not preserved

Certainly the name of a "collector," with enough space for either *ạ*[*-ko-so-ta-o*] or *ạ*[*-ke-o-jo*], associated with a flock of 40 female sheep; the herder's name ends in ]-*ta*.

5. **ạ[**
Fn 324.15: certain, dative none

A recipient of grain, probably HORD V 1.

6. **a[ ]**
An 261.15: certain, genitive none

A member of a *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*), almost certainly the *geronsiā* of *a-pi-qo-ta*.

7. **a-[ ]*vest.***
An 724.10: possible, nominative? *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)

Possibly a name; *a*-[ ]-*ḳạ* is a possible reading.[5] An 724 deals with missing rowers.[6]

8. **a-[ ]-$a_2$-ro**
Jn 478.3: certain, nominative *wi-ja-we-*$ra_2$ (HP)
1/1/1

The name of a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4. Although it was once thought that this name should be restored to *a*-[*pi*]-$a_2$-*ro*,[7] this reading is now excluded.[8] It may be possible to read *a-ṣọ-*$a_2$*-ro*.

5 Ruijgh 1967, pp. 320–321.
6 Chadwick 1987a.
7 Bennett and Olivier 1973, p. 180; Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 28.
8 Smith 1995, p. 230 n. 171.

9. **a[ ]na**
Fn 837.7: probable, dative none

A recipient of an unpreserved quantity of grain (HORD).

10. **a[ ]te**
An 261.14: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

A member of the *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) of *a-pi-qo-ta*.

11. **ạ[ ]to**
Cn 328.13: certain, nominative *a-ka-na-jo* (HP)

A shepherd of 40 male sheep.

12. **a-·-ke-re-u**
Ep 613.7: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
[a-·-ke-re-u]
Eb 152: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
1/1/1

This man is a *hieroworgos* (*i-je-ro-wo-ko*) and *kamaeus* (*ka-ma-e-u*) who is said to hold and work a landholding of GRA 1. Eb 152 is the Eb text corresponding to Ep 613.7.

13. **a-[ ]-u**
Cn 600.8: certain, nominative *ti-mi-to-a-ko* (FP)

A herder of 60 female sheep; his "collector" is **we-da-ne-u*.

14. **a-da-ma-o** Probably *Adamaos* (cf. Ἀδάμας)
Eb 747.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 301.4: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 351.2: certain, dative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Jn 832.15: certain, nominative *a-to-mo?*
a-da-ma-o-jo
En 659.8: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
En 659.9: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
a-da-ma-⟨o-⟩jo
Eo 351.1: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain (E-, Jn) 1/1/1

The name of a landholder and a smith. In the Eb/Ep series is a *ktoinohokhos* with a plot of GRA T 4 (Eb 747.A = Ep 301.4), in the En/Eo series a *telestās*

(Eo 351.1–2 = En 659.8–10).[9] The *telestās* has plots of GRA 1 T 8; a man named *ta-ra$_2$-to* holds a plot of GRA T 2 V 4 from him. The smith has no allotment (*a-ta-ra-si-jo*) on Jn 832.15. All instances of this name can be identified with a single individual. All names that appear in the Eb/Ep and the En/Eo series represent a single individual (see section 4.2). The landholder can be certainly identified with the smith, based on the fact that he appears in a cluster of smiths' names on Ep 301 (see section 2.2).

15. **a-da-ra-te-ja** *Adrasteiā* (cf. Ἄδραστος)
Aa 785: possible, nominative — none (= *pu-ro*, HP)
Ab 388: possible, nominative — *pu-ro* (HP)
0/1/0

A name of, or an adjective modifying, a woman working for the palace at Pylos. Chadwick proposes that this is a woman's name because on both texts where this word appears, only a single woman is recorded.[10] There are no parallels for individuals recorded by personal name on the Aa/Ab texts, however, which makes it more likely that this word is in both cases an adjective, singular in number.[11] It seems most likely that this adjective derives from the man's name Ἄδραστος,[12] perhaps the same man indicated by the patronymic *Adrastios* (see below, s.v. *a-da-ra-ti-jo*).

16. **a-da-ra-ti-jo** *Adrastios* (cf. Ἄδραστος)
An 656.14: certain, patronymic — *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
Aq 218.6: certain, patronymic — none

Universally interpreted as a patronymic (son of Ἄδραστος),[13] *a-da-ra-ti-jo* modifies the names *a$_3$-ko-ta* on Aq 218 and *ḍị-ko-na-ro* on An 656. Both these men are *hek$^w$etai* and the shared patronymic indicates that they are brothers. See below, s.vv. *a$_3$-ko-ta*, *ḍị-ko-na-ro*.

17. **a-de-me-we** Uncertain
Eq 146.5: certain, nominative — none
1/1/1

A landholder of a plot of GRA 1 V 3. The header of Eq 146 implies that he is a *telestās*.[14] The location of the landholdings on Eq 146 is unknown.

9 Cf. ⟦*da-ma-o*⟧ on Eo 269 *r*.B.
10 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 528.
11 See, e.g., Ventris and Chadwick 1956, pp. 155–156.
12 Killen 1979b, p. 177; 1983b.
13 Aura Jorro 1985, p. 25, s.v. *a-da-ra-ti-jo*.
14 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 19, vol. 2, p. 144. The header of Eq 146.1 is *o-da-a$_2$ te-re-ta, e-*[*ko-si*?].

18. **a-e[**
Qa 1306: probable, nominative none

Personal names regularly occur in the Qa series, usually accompanied by a toponym or a professional designation listed against **189*, probably an animal skin allocated to the individuals. Melena proposes the restoration *a-e[-ri-qo-ta*.[15]

19. **a-e-ri-qe** Perhaps *Aeris*
Jn 832.11: certain, nominative *a-to-mo?*
1/1/1

A smith designated as a decorator (*a-ḳẹ-te* for *a-ke-te-re, askēteres*, cf. ἀσκη-τής).[16] Probably this lexical item should be interpreted as the name *a-e-ri* followed by the particle *qe* ("and *a-e-ri*").[17] This is consistent with its context on Jn 832, because it occurs last in a list of names followed by the numeral 1.

20. **a-e-ri-qo** *Aherikʷhōn* or *Aherikʷhos*
An 192.2: certain, nominative none
Jn 431.13: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

*a-e-ri-qo* is the name of a smith at *a-pe-ke-e* without a *ta-ra-si-ja*. The same name also appears in the personnel register An 192. Only one other smith appears on An 192, *ka-ra-u-ro*, who has a *ta-ra-si-ja* at *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (Jn 750.7). There is no other connection between the Jn series and An 192, nor do the individuals listed on An 192 occur consistently with smiths elsewhere.

21. **a-e-ri-qo-ta** *Aherikʷhontās*[18] or *Aherikʷhoitās*[19]
An 192.7: certain, nominative none
An 209.6: certain, nominative none (*ko-ri-to*?)
An 657.12: certain, nominative *a₃-ta-re-u-si* (HP)
a-e-ri-qo-ṭạ[
Aq 218.5: certain, nominative *o-wi-to-no* (HP)
Identification certain (An 192, An 657, Aq 218), possible (An 209) 1/2/2

15 Melena 2002b, p. 383.
16 Killen 1979b, pp. 166–167; Aura Jorro 1985, p. 41, s.v. *a-ḳẹ-te*.
17 Aura Jorro 1985, p. 28, s.v. *a-e-ri-'qe'*; Killen 2004b, p. 228.
18 Hajnal 1992; Neumann 1995, p. 142.
19 Ruijgh 1967, p. 296 n. 27; Leukart 1994, pp. 59–63.

*a-e-ri-qo-ta* is the name of a *hek$^w$etās* on An 657: his patronymic is *ke-ki-jo* and he is attached to the *o-ka* of *ne-da-wa-ta*. On Aq 218, he is listed along with two or three other *hek$^w$etai* (*ro-u-ko*, *$a_3$-ko-ta* and possibly *di-wi-je-u*). He appears in the personnel registers An 192 and 209; the latter has the header "Korinthian *statēres*" (*ko-ri-si-jo ta-te-re*). Lindgren proposes two or three different individuals, the *e-qe-ta* of An 657 and Aq 218, probably to be identified with the person in An 192, and a different individual of the same name listed in An 209.[20] The relationship between Aq 218 and the *o-ka* texts is sufficiently strong that we may view the equation between the two as certain (see section 4.1).[21] The toponyms *$a_3$-ta-re-u-si* and *o-wi-to-no* are also close together geographically in the northern Hither Province. Likewise, An 192 shares many personal names with Jo 438 and On 300; On 300 does not overlap with the *o-ka* tablets, but three names overlap between Jo 438 and the *o-ka* texts (see section 4.1). We may therefore view the prosopographical identification of the *e-qe-ta* with the *a-e-ri-qo-ta* of An 192 certain as well.

The connections between An 209 and the other occurrences of *a-e-ri-qo-ta* are possible. See the discussion in section 2.3 (and Table 2.6).

22. **a-e-se-wa** Uncertain[22]
Fn 79.6: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain and olives (HORD T 6 V 4 OLIV 1).

23. **a-i-qe-u** Perhaps *Ahik$^w$heus*
Eb 895.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 301.14: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
a-i-qẹ-we
Eo 471.2: certain, dative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
a-ị-qe-wo
En 659.12: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
a-]ị[-qe-wo
Eo 471.1: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

[20] Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 19.
[21] *a-e-ri-qo-ta* is modified by the patronymic *ke-ki-jo* on An 657, while Aq 218.5 reads *a-e-ri-qo-ṭạ[ ]jọ*, with space for two signs. We may therefore confidently restore *a-e-ri-qo-ṭạ[, ke-ki-]jọ*.
[22] Leukart 1994, p. 209.

This individual is a landholder in the Eb/Ep and En/Eo series. The same individual must be meant in all cases (see section 4.2).[23] In the Eb/Ep, he is a *ktoinohokhos* with a plot of GRA T 6. In the En/Eo series, he is a *telestās*. His holdings total GRA 1 T 2; he leases GRA T 1 V 3 to *ta-*$ra_2$*-to*.

24. **a-ka** Probably *Alkās* or *Arkhās*
An 1281.3: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

*a-ka* is listed in a personnel register, paired with *re-u-si-wo*, at the seat of Potnia. The document records the allocation of craft workers in a religious context (see section 3.1.7).[24]

25. **a-ka-ma-jo** Probably *Alkmaios*
Fn 324.4: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD T 1 V 2).

26. **a-ka-ma-wo** Perhaps *Alkmawos*
Cn 131.3: certain, dative *pi-*82* (HP)
Cn 719.11: certain, nominative *wi-ja-we-*$ra_2$ (HP)
Jn 431.12: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
Jn 706.18: certain, nominative *pa-to-wo-te*
Identification probable 1/2/1

*a-ka-ma-wo* is the name of a shepherd of 120 male sheep on Cn 131 and of 96 male sheep on Cn 719; on the latter text, *a-ko-so-ta* is his "collector." It is also the name of a smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 431 and on Jn 706. Lindgren separates this name into three individuals: a shepherd with two flocks, the smith of Jn 431, and the smith of Jn 706.[25] The two occurrences of *a-ka-ma-wo* in the Cn series certainly represent one individual (see section 3.2.1), as do the occurrences in the Jn series represent one smith (see section 3.1.1). The prosopographical identification of the shepherd with the smith is highly probable; he appears in the same line with another smith named *ku-pi-ri-jo* on Cn 131 (see section 3.1.2).

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23 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 19.
24 Lupack 2008b.
25 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 20.

27. **a-ka-ṣạ-no** *Alksānōr* (cf. Ἀλξήνωρ)[26]
Jn 415.5: certain, nominative *ru-ko-$a_2$-ke-re-u-te*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4.

28. **a-ka-ta-jo** Probably Ἀκταῖος
Eo 269 *lat.sup.*: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
a-ka-ta-jo-jo
Eo 269.B: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
a-ka-ta[-jo-]jo
En 659.18: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

*a-ka-ta-jo* is a *telestās* with landholdings of GRA 3 T 2, and he leases GRA T 2 to *ka-ra-*56-so*.

29. **a-ka-wo** Perhaps *Alkāwōn*
Jo 438.18: certain, nominative none
a-ka-wo-ne
Un 219.9: certain, dative none
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

*a-ka-wo* appears on Jo 438 as a contributor of P 3 of gold (about 60 grams), the smallest amount preserved. On Un 219, he is a recipient of one *MA*, an unknown commodity, in a religious context. Lindgren thinks that "possibly" both instances of this name at Pylos refer to the same individual,[27] and even hypothesizes that *a-ka-wo* might be the *ko-re-te* of *e-re-e*.[28] Her reason for thinking so is presumably that the entry on Jo 438 following *a-ka-wo* is *e-re-e* , *po-ro-ko-re-te*, but the organization of the text does not encourage us to expect the *ko-re-te* and *po-ro-ko-re-te* to appear next to one another.[29] Moreover, nothing links Un 219 and Jo 438. The only reason to suspect that the two names are the same person is that relatively important individuals appear in both Jo 438 and Un 219. See section 4.8.

30. **ạ-ke[ ]u**
An 661.11: certain, nominative *ti-mi-to-a-ko* (FP)
1/1/1

26 Bechtel [1917] 1964, p. 38.
27 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 21.
28 Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 122.
29 Chadwick 2002.

This individual is an officer in the *o-ka* of *e-ko-me-na-ta*. Lindgren proposed the reading *ạ-ke*[*-re-*]*u*, and identified him with the individual from Ep 613.7 (for her the reading was ]*ke-re-u*, but the current reading is *a-·-ke-re-u*) and ]*ka-re-u* from Aq 218.11.[30] These prosopographical identifications seem unlikely, however, given the spelling differences.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 31. **a-ke-o** | Uncertain | |
| | An 192.14: certain, nominative | none |
| | Cc 660.a: certain, nominative | *me-ta-pa* (HP) |
| | Mb 1434: certain, dative? | not preserved |
| a-ke-o-jo | | |
| | Cn 40.10: certain, genitive | *ma-ro* (HP) |
| | Cn 40.14: certain, genitive | *a-te-re-wi-ja* (FP) |
| | Cn 45.5, 11: certain, genitive | *u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja* (FP) |
| | Cn 45.8, 12: certain, genitive | *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo* (FP) |
| | Cn 254.6: certain, genitive | *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP) |
| | Cn 599.1, .6: certain, genitive | *wa-no-jo wo-wo* (HP) |
| | Cn 599.3–4: certain, genitive | *a₂-pa-tu-wo-te* (HP) |
| | Cn 600.5: certain, genitive | *o-re-e-wo wo-wo* (FP) |
| | Cn 600.6: certain, genitive | *re-qa-se-wo wo-wo* (FP) |
| | Cn 600.11: certain, genitive | *ti-mi-to-a-ko* (FP) |
| | Cn 643.3–4: certain, genitive | *pi-*82* (HP) |
| | Cn 655.11–12: certain, genitive | *ma-ro* (HP) |
| | Cn 702.3–4: certain, genitive | not preserved |
| | Cn 719.1–3: certain, genitive | *ma-ro* (HP) |
| | Cn 719.5–7: certain, genitive | *pi-*82* (HP) |
| a-ke-ọ[-jo | | |
| | Cn 643.6: certain, genitive | not preserved |
| a-ke-o[ | | |
| | Mb 1378: certain, dative? | not preserved |
| Identification certain (Cc, Cn), probable (An, Mb) | | 1/3/1 |

*a-ke-o* is one of the four "collectors" at Pylos in Cc 660 and the Cn texts (for Cc 660, see section 3.2.2). He also appears in the high-status personnel register An 192, and in Mb 1378 and 1434, where is he is probably a recipient of the textile **146*.[31] Lindgren separates *a-ke-o* into three individuals: (1) on An 192, (2) in the Cc and Cn texts, and (3) in the Mb texts, but she thinks that (1), (2), and (3) are "probably" identical.[32] I agree with Lindgren that *a-ke-o* the "collector" is probably the same individual identified as *a-ke-o*

30 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 22.
31 On his status as recipient of **146*, see Shelmerdine 2002.
32 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, pp. 22–23.

*ka-wi-jo* on An 192.14.[33] No other "collectors" appear on this tablet, but a series of very important palatial agents do appear on this text which suggests prosopographical identification with the "collector." For arguments that the "collector" is probably the same individual in the Mb texts, see section 3.2.4.

32. **a-ke-ra-wo** Probably Ἀγέλαος or Ἀρχέλαος[34]
Cn 599.3: certain, dative *$a_2$-pa-tu-wo-te* (HP)
]a-ke-ra-wo
Un 1320.6: certain, dative none/not preserved
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

On Cn 599, *a-ke-ra-wo* is responsible for herding 90 male goats at *$a_2$-pa-tu-wo-te* with *a-ke-o* as his "collector." Interpretation of Un 1320 is difficult, because the text is fragmentary, the header is not preserved, and there is no ideogram. Instead, the sign *A* is used ideographically, with uncertain meaning.[35] The other three names on Un 1320 do not appear elsewhere. The *verso* of Un 1320 has a drawing of an animal's head, possibly a pig's, or possibly a large and elaborate form of the syllabogram *au*.

33. **a-ke-ro** Probably Ἄγγελος
Jo 438.20: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

Usually *a-ke-ro* is an official title ("messenger"), but in this context it appears to be a personal name, since the entry is *a-ke-ro qa-si-re-u* AUR P 3 (*Aggelos* the *$g^w$asileus* GOLD 60 g). On Jo 438, when the scribe writes a title, it always appears as the second lexical item in the entry and follows either a toponym or a personal name. We cannot entirely exclude two titles ("the messenger/*$g^w$asileus*"), of course, but it is the less likely option.[36]

34. **a-ke-ta** Perhaps Ἀγέτας, Ἀκέστας, or Ἀλκέτας
Cn 719.12: certain, nominative *wi-ja-we-$ra_2$* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 100 young (*ẉọ*[*-ne-*]*we*) sheep.

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[33] Carlier 1999, p. 192. It is not clear what *ka-wi-jo* means (it is a *hapax*); certainly it is an adjective, either an ethnic or a patronymic. The former seems to be more likely (Aura Jorro 1985, p. 333, s.v. *ka-wi-jo*), especially given that the Mycenaean name *ka-wi* is not attested.

[34] Neumann 1995, p. 130 and n. 5; Palaima 1999, p. 377; García Ramón 2000a, p. 173.

[35] Cf. Palmer 1994, pp. 87 n. 2, 107 n. 99.

[36] Parallels for designating an individual by two titles are provided by PY Wa 917, PY Aq 218.3, KN Am 821.

35. **a-ke-ti-jo** Perhaps Ἀκέστιος
An 209.3: certain, nominative none (*ko-ri-to*?)
1/1/1

This individual appears in a list of Korinthian *statēres* (*ta-te-re*).

36. **a-ke-wa-ta** *Arkhewastās*[37]
Jn 431.17: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

A Potnian smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 3.

37. **a-ke-wa-to** *Arkhewastos*[38]
An 661.11: certain, nominative *ti-mi-to-a-ko* (FP)
1/1/1

An officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *e-ko-me-na-ta*.

38. ***a-ki-re-u** Ἀχιλλεύς
a-ki-re-we
Fn 79.2: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD T 5).

39. **a-ki-to** Probably Ἄλκιθος[39]
Fn 79.14: certain, dative none
a-ki-to-jo
Fn 50.1: certain, genitive none
Fn 837.11: certain, genitive none
Identification certain 1/1/1

Lindgren also identifies all occurrences of this name with the same individual.[40] **a-ki-to* has a *qa-si-re-wi-ja* that receives grain on Fn 50 and Fn 837 (amounts are not preserved). On Fn 79, he receives a large amount of rations (HORD T 2 V 3 OLIV 1). See further section 4.3.

40. **a-ki-wo-ni-jo** *Alkiwonios* or *Arkhiwonios*[41]
An 656.3: certain, nominative *ne-wo-ki-to* (HP)
1/1/1

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37 García Ramón 1993, 2000a, p. 173.
38 García Ramón 1993, 2000a, p. 173.
39 Ilievski 1996, p. 52.
40 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 23.
41 Aura Jorro 1985, p. 45, s.v. *a-ki-wo-ni-jo*.

An officer in the *o-ka* texts.[42]

**a-ḳọ-[·]-ta** see *a-ko-so-ta*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 41. | **a-ko-so-ta** | Probably *Alksoitās*[43] | |
| | | An 39 *v*.5: certain, nominative or dative | none |
| | | Eq 213.1: certain, nominative | *a-ke-re-wa* (HP) |
| | | Pn 30.1: certain, nominative | none |
| | | Un 267.1: certain, nominative | none |
| | | Va 482: certain, uncertain | none |
| | a-ko-so-ṭạ | | |
| | | Wa 917.1: certain, nominative | none/not preserved |
| | a-ko-so-ṭạ[ | | |
| | | An 435.1: certain, nominative | none/not preserved |
| | a-ko-so-ta-o | | |
| | | Cn 40.3: certain, genitive | *wa-no-jo wo-wo* (HP) |
| | | Cn 40.7: certain, genitive | *a-ne-u-te* (HP) |
| | | Cn 40.12: certain, genitive | *ma-ro* (HP) |
| | | Cn 45.6: certain, genitive | *u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja* (FP) |
| | | Cn 45.9: certain, genitive | *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo* (FP) |
| | | Cn 45.10: certain, genitive | *pa-na-pi* (FP) |
| | | Cn 453.1: certain, genitive | *ka-pe-se-wa-o wo-wo* |
| | | Cn 599.2: certain, genitive | *$a_2$-ne-u-te* (HP) |
| | a-ko-so-ta-ọ | | |
| | | Cn 719.10: certain, genitive | *a-pa-re-u-pi* (HP) |
| | a[-ko-so-]ṭạ-ọ | | |
| | | Cn 40.11: certain, genitive | *re-pe-u-ri-jo* (HP) |
| | a-ko-ṣọ-ta-o | | |
| | | Cn 40.12: certain, genitive | *ma-ro* (HP) |
| | a-ko-so-ta⟨-o⟩ | | |
| | | Cn 40.13: certain, genitive | *a-te-re-wi-ja* (FP) |
| | a-]ḳọ-so-ta[-]o | | |
| | | Cn 702.1: certain, genitive | not preserved |
| | a-ko[-so-]ta-o | | |
| | | Cn 719.11: certain, genitive | *wi-ja-we-$ra_2$* (HP) |
| | a-⟨ko-⟩so-ta-o | | |
| | | Cn 719.8: certain, genitive | *pi-*82* (HP) |
| | a-ḳọ-[·]-ta | | |
| | | Fn 837.4: certain, dative | none |

Identification certain, probable (with *a-ḳọ-[·]-ta*) 1/2/1

[42] His name appears to be formed as a patronymic; but since there is no name adjacent to it to modify, it must function as a personal name.

[43] Ruijgh 1967, p. 340 n. 70; Leukart 1994, p. 227. But see Bechtel [1917] 1964, p. 36, on Ἀλκοίτας.

*a-ko-so-ta* is one of the most important individuals at Pylos.[44] He is one of the four "collectors" at Pylos (Cn series), and he also appears as a land inspector of the *a-ke-re-wa* district on Eq 213 (see section 3.2.6). On a number of tablets, he is specified as an agent who distributes and receives goods: on Un 267 he distributes large amounts of spices for the boiling of unguent, on An 435 and Wa 917 he distributes unknown goods (perhaps workers on An 435), and on Va 482 he may distribute raw ivory for carving;[45] on Pn 30 he distributes **169*, perhaps beds.[46] It appears certain that all instances of the name *a-ko-so-ta* should be identified with a single person.[47] Further, we should probably identify *a-ḳọ-*[·]*-ta* on Fn 837 with the "collector," since Fn 837 comprises a set with Fn 50 and 79, all of which have connections to An 39, on which *a-ko-so-ta* appears (see section 4.3).

42. **a-ko-te-u** *Akonteus*
Cn 643.2: certain, nominative *wi-ja-we-ra₂* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of 40 sows.

43. **a-ko-to-wo** Perhaps *Argothowos*[48]
Cn 45.8: certain, dative *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo* (FP)
Cn 254.9: certain, dative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
Jn 431.4: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
Identification certain 1/1/1

*a-ko-to-wo* occurs on Jn 431, where he is a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 7. He also appears on Cn 45 as a herder of 50 female goats, with *a-ke-o* as his "collector," and Cn 254 as a herder of 4̣8 sows (with *a*[*-ke-o*?] as his "collector"). His flocks are located reasonably close together (only the site of *sa-ma-ra* separates *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo* and *a-si-ja-ti-ja* in the canonical toponymic list). I argue that the close link between Cn 45 with Jn 431 suggests certain prosopographical identification between the herder and the smith (see sections 3.1.2, 3.2.1).

44 Kyriakidis 1998; Nightingale 2008.
45 Killen 2003.
46 Vandenabeele and Olivier 1979, pp. 172–176.
47 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, pp. 23–25.
48 Aura Jorro 1985, p. 52, s.v. *a-ko-to-wo*.

44. **a-ma-ru-ta** *Amarunthās*[49]
Eo 224.4–6, 8: certain, dative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
a-ma-ṛụ-ta-o
Eo 224.1: certain, genitive — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
a-ma-ru-ta-o
En 609.10: certain, genitive — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
a-]ma-ru-ta-o
En 609.11: certain, genitive — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain — 1/1/1

*a-ma-ru-ta* is a *telestās* with GRA 2 T 3 of landholdings (*ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na*), and he has three lessors: *so-u-ro*, *e-do-mo-ne-u*, and *e-sa-ro*.[50]

45. **a-ma-to-wo** Uncertain
An 31.3: certain, nominative — none/not preserved
1/1/1

A name in a fragmentary personnel register.

46. **a-ma-tu-na** Uncertain
Fn 187.11: possible, dative — none
0/1/0

A recipient of HORD T 1. It is not certain that *a-ma-tu-na* is a person's name; it appears on a text which appears to record disbursements of grain in a religious context. Many of the recipients on the text are obscure.

47. ***a-me-ja** Uncertain
a-me-ja-to
Sa 834: certain, genitive — none
Sh 736: certain, genitive — none
Identification certain — 1/1/1

**a-me-ja* is responsible for *o-pa* (finishing) work on five pairs of armor on Sh 736 and for work on one pair of serviceable chariot wheels with a border (ROTA+*TE*) on Sa 834. For identification, see further section 3.2.5.[51]

48. **a-me-no** Perhaps Ἀμείνων
Jn 415.4: certain, nominative — *ru-ko-*$a_2$*-ke-re-u-te*
1/1/1

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49 Ilieveski 1996, p. 53.
50 There are traces of ⟦*a-ma-ru-ta*⟧ on Eo 224.2–3. 7.
51 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 26.

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5.

49. **a-me-to** Uncertain[52]
Jn 693.7: certain, nominative *a-pu*$_2$ (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4.

50. **a-mi-ja[** Perhaps Ἁρμίας[53]
Vn 865.8: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

A man in a list of shipwrights.

51. **a-mi-nu-wa-ta** Uncertain
Cn 436.3: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

A herder of 50 ewes.

52. **a-mo-ke-re-[we]** *Harmoklewēs*[54]
Nn 831.3: certain, nominative perhaps *ko-ri*[*-to*[55]
]mo-ke-re-we-i
Fn 324.2: certain, dative none
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

This individual appears on Nn 831 as contributing one unit of linen. On Fn 324, a man who probably has the same name receives a small amount of grain (HORD T 1). There are no connections between the Fn series and Nn 831 (see section 4.6).

53. **a-mo-ta-jo** Probably *Armotaios*
Jn 320.2: certain, nominative *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-ụ*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5.

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52 Ilievski 1996, p. 62.
53 Ruijgh 1967, p. 142 and n. 207.
54 Neumann 1995, p. 146.
55 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 26; Sainer 1976, p. 43.

54. **a-mu-ta-wo** *Hamhuthāwōn* (cf. Ἀμυθάων)[56]
Nn 831.7: certain, nominative — perhaps *ko-ri*[-*to*
a-mu-ta-wo-no
Jn 431.26: certain, genitive — *a-pe-ke-e*
Identification tenuous — 1/2/2

On Jn 431 there are 31 men listed "of *a-mu-ta-wo*." On Nn 831 he is listed as contributing four units of flax to the palace.[57] Identification is tenuous; see section 4.6.

55. **a-na-te-u** Perhaps *Anasteus*
Jn 415.11: certain, nominative — *ru-ko-a*$_2$*-ke-re-u-te*
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

56. **a-ne-o** Perhaps *Anehōn*[58]
Es 648.1: certain, nominative — none
Es 650.8B: certain, nominative — none
a-]ne-o
Es 644.9: certain, nominative — none
Identification certain — 1/1/1

One of the landholders and contributors in the Es series; he holds a plot of GRA 1 T 5, a holding that is average size for the Es series.

57. **a-no-**[
Sa 137: probable, genitive — none

An individual responsible for work on chariot wheels.[59]

58. **a-no de-ki-si-wo** Perhaps *Anodeksiwos*
Cn 254.4: certain, dative — *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 80 male sheep, with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector." This individual may also appear as simply *de-ki-si-wo* on Vn 34. However, there are no

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[56] Neumann 1995, p. 139; cf. von Kamptz 1982, p. 320.
[57] Purely because of his perceived importance on Jn 431 and Nn 831, prosopographical identification between the two instances of *a-mu-ta-wo* is proposed by Foster (1981, p. 94) and Lindgren (1973, vol. 2, p. 177). See too Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, pp. 183–191.
[58] Ruijgh 1967, p. 269 n. 173.
[59] The shape of the break is compatible with *a-no-*[*ra-ta* or *a-no-*[*ta*.

other individuals on Vn 34 who appear in the Cn series, and so the prosopographical identification should be considered very tenuous.

59. **a-no-ke-we** Uncertain
An 192.13: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

*a-no-ke-we* appears in the personnel register An 192, where he is labeled *ke-ki*. This modifier is perhaps the singular of *ke-ki-de*, the adjective used so often to describe large groups of men on the *o-ka* texts.[60] It is unlikely that *a-no-ze-we* is a variant for *a-no-ke-we*.[61]

60. **a-no-me-de** *Anormēdēs* (cf. Ἀνδρομήδης)[62]
Jn 706.5: certain, nominative *pa-to-wo-te*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* (the amount is unpreserved).

61. **a-no-po** Perhaps *Anoiphos*[63]
Cn 131.6: certain, dative *ma-ro* (HP)
Va 482: probable, dative? none
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

A shepherd of 130 penned male sheep.[64] It is probable that *a-no-po* on Va 482 is the name of an ivory-worker allocated raw ivory for processing by *Alksoitās* (*a-ko-so-ta*).[65] Although as a "collector" *Alksoitās* appears extensively in the Cn series, there is no other link connecting the two occurrences of *a-no-po*.

62. **a-no-ra-ta** Perhaps *Anoraltās*
An 340.12: certain, nominative none
Jn 832.15: certain, nominative *ro-u-so* (HP)
Identification probable 1/2/1

*a-no-ra-ta* is a smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 832. On An 340, he appears in a list of men who are with the man *a-ta-o*, probably in a craft context.

60 Although *ke-ki* is also the name of a smith.
61 Kölligan 2012; cf. Aura Jorro 1985, p. 68, s.v. *a-no-ke-we*.
62 Neumann 1995, p. 141; García Ramón 2006a.
63 Lejeune 1971, p. 43.
64 I translate *we-re-ke* (*wreges*, cf. εἴργω) as penned; see Aura Jorro 1993, p. 421 s.v. *we-re-ke*.
65 Killen 2003.

Prosopographical identification is probable (see section 3.1.5), given the extensive onomastic overlap between An 340 and the Jn series.

63. **a-no-ta** Perhaps *Anortās*
Jn 750.5: certain, nominative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

*a-no-ta* is a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

64. **a-no-ze-we** *Anorkiewēs*[66]
Cn 600.13: certain, nominative *ti-mi-to-a-ko* (FP)
1/1/1

A herder with a flock of 36 female goats.

65. **a-o-ri-me-ne** Probably *Ahorimenēs*[67]
Qa 1296: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

*a-o-ri-me-ne* is identified as a priest (*i-je-re-u*) on Qa 1296, where he is allocated an animal skin (**189*).

66. **a-pa-je-u** Perhaps *Aphaieus*
Jn 845.5: certain, nominative not preserved
1/1/1

*a-pa-je-u* is a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

67. **a-pa-sa-[**
Jn 927.5: certain, nominative *]ṃẹ-no*
1/1/1

*a-pa-sa-*[ is a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1[, probably to be restored as AES M 1[ N 2] based on the other entries on the tablet (all of which record that amount where preserved, or are consistent with that amount).

68. ***a-pa-si-jo** Ἀσπάσιος[68]
a-pa-si-jo-jo
Sa 767: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

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66 Kölligan 2012.
67 Neumann 1995, p. 142.
68 Neumann 1995, p. 152.

**a-pa-si-jo* is responsible for work (*wo-ka*) on a pair of serviceable chariot wheels with a border (ROTA+*TE*).

69. **a-pe-i-ja** Perhaps *Alphehiā*[69]
Ub 1318.6: certain, dative none
1/1/1

This woman appears on Ub 1318 in the context of the production of leather goods.[70]

70. **a-pe-ri-ta-wo** Perhaps *Ampelitāwōn*
An 657.3: certain, nominative *o-wi-to-no* (HP)
1/1/1

An officer in the *o-ka* of *ma-re-u*.

71. **a-pe-te-u** Uncertain
Jn 692.2: certain, nominative *na-i-se-wi-jo* (HP)
Jn 725 *r.orig*.20: certain, nominative *na-i-se-wi-jo* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

On Jn 692, a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 6. On the *recto originalis* of Jn 725, *a-pe-te-u* is listed as a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja*, but without a specific amount of metal. All of the named smiths on Jn 692 appear on the *recto originalis* of Jn 725 (see section 3.1.1).

72. **a-pi-a$_2$-ro** *Amphihalos* (cf. Ἀμφίαλος)
An 192.1: certain, nominative none
Ea 109: certain, nominative none
Ea 270: certain, nominative none
Ea 922.a: certain, nominative none
On 300.2: certain, dative HP[71]
Qa 1297: certain, nominative none
Identification certain (An, On), probable (Ea), probable (Qa) 1/3/1

*a-pi-a$_2$-ro* appears in the personnel register An 192. He is also a landholder in the Ea series: he has a plot of the swineherd of GRA 2 T 5 on Ea 109, another

69 Ruijgh 1967, p. 206 n. 539.
70 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, pp. 490–493.
71 This is based on the fact that *a-pi-a$_2$-ro* appears in the first paragraph of On 300 and the second paragraph of that tablet has the header ]*o-de-qa-a$_2$ pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo*. Although the header of the first paragraph of On 300 is damaged, I presume that it dealt exclusively with the Hither Province.

of the cowherd *pe-re-qo-no* of GRA T 6 on Ea 270, and a third of *ke-ke-me-na* land that is “without benefit” of GRA T 1 on Ea 922.[72] He receives six hides (**154*) on On 300 and five animal skins (**189*) on Qa 1297. Lindgren rightly concludes that the *a-pi-$a_2$-ro* of An 192 and On 300 are certainly the same,[73] in view of the close network of associations between An 192 and On 300 (see section 4.1). This individual should probably be identified with the person of the same name from the Ea series (section 4.2.2) and the Qa series (section 4.4).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 73. **a-pi-e-ra** | Probably *Amphihērā*[74] | | |
| An 1281.8: certain, dative | | none | |
| An 1281.13: certain, dative | | none | |
| a-pi-ẹ-ṛạ | | | |
| Fn 50.13: certain, genitive | | none | |
| Identification certain | | | 1/1/1 |

This woman is the recipient of two named individuals (*to-ze-u* and *ṛụ-ḳọ-ro*) on An 1281 in a religious context. Her servants (*do-e-ro-i*) are recipients of HORD V 3 on Fn 50. For identification, see section 4.3.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 74. **a-pi-je-ta** | Probably *Amphiertās*[75] | | |
| An 657.7: certain, nominative | | *o-wi-to-no* (HP) | |
| | | | 1/1/1 |

An officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ne-da-wa-ta*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 75. **a-pi-jo** | Ἀμφίων | | |
| a-p̣ị-jo | | | |
| Jn 725.14: certain, nominative | | ]-*nu-we-jo*? | |
| a-pi-jo-ṭọ | | | |
| An 261.6: certain, genitive | | none | |
| a-pi-jo-to | | | |
| An 261.7–8: certain, genitive | | none | |
| a-pi-jo[-to] | | | |
| An 261.9: certain, genitive | | none | |
| a-pi-o-to | | | |
| An 261 *v*.6: certain, genitive | | none | |
| An 616 *v*.3: certain, genitive | | none | |
| Identification certain | | | 1/1/1 |

72 See Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 68–69, s.v. *a-no-no*, p. 391, s.v. *ko-to-na-no-no*.
73 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 28.
74 Ilievski 1999, p. 305.
75 Ilievski 1992, p. 339; Leukart 1994, pp. 88–89.

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 725 (AES M 5), he occurs on An 261 and 616 as the head of a *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*). Lindgren separates this name into two individuals,[76] despite the persuasive arguments of Palmer for prosopographical identification.[77] See section 3.1.4.

76. ***a-pi-ka-ra-do** Perhaps *Amphiklados*
a-pi-ka-ra-do-jo
Pa 398: certain, genitive FP
1/1/1

There is a *qa-si-re-wi-ja* of *Amphiklados* located in the Further Province that produces an unpreserved amount of **169* (probably beds).[78] He is therefore presumably a *gʷasileus*.

77. **a-pi-me-de** Ἀμφιμήδης
Eb 473.1: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
a-pi[-me-]ḍẹ
Ep 539.14: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
a-pi-me-de-o
Cn 655.5: certain, genitive *ma-ro* (HP)
Eb 1187.A: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eb 1188.A: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 539.10: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 539.12: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
a-pi-ṃẹ-ḍẹ-o
Ep 539.11: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
[a-pi-me-de-o]
Eb 1186.B: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

*Amphimēdēs* is one of the four “collectors” of Pylos. He is only attested as a “collector” of a single flock, however, on Cn 655. He is a major landholder in the Eb/Ep series: he holds an *e-to-ni-jo* plot on Eb 473/Ep 539. The term *e-to-ni-jo* (perhaps *etōnion*, a “true benefit”) refers to a privileged landholding (*e-ri-ta* claims to have one, and on An 724.10, it appears to be associated with the divinity *Enualios*). Three of his servants (*do-e-ro*) are landholders in the Eb/Ep series: they are named *e-ni-to-wo*, *to-wa-te-u*, and *wi-dwo-i-jo*. These men are referred to as servants of the *hekʷetās* (*e-qe-si-jo do-e-ro*) on Ed 847,

[76] Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 29.
[77] Palmer 1963, pp. 228–229.
[78] For **169* as beds, see Vandenabeele and Olivier 1979, pp. 172–176.

which, as Lejeune noted, shows that *Amphimēdēs* is also a *hek$^{w}$etās*.[79] Lindgren agrees that all attestations of the name *Amphimēdēs* must represent a single individual.[80] Indeed, it is difficult to believe that such a prominent landholder could be anyone other than the "collector" of the same name. See sections 3.2.6, 4.2, 4.9.

**a-pi-o-to** see s.v. *a-pi-jo*

78. **a-pi-qo-ta** Probably *Amphik$^{w}$hoitās*[81]
Jn 431.6: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
a-pi-qo[-ta-o]
An 261.13: certain, genitive none
ạ[-pi-qo-ta-o]
An 261.14: certain, genitive none
a-[pi-qo-ta-o]
An 261.17: certain, genitive none
a-pi-qo-ta-o
An 261 *v*.5: certain, genitive none
a-pi-qo-⟨ta-⟩o
Un 616 *v*.2: certain, genitive none
Identification certain 1/1/1

A *g$^{w}$asileus* (*qa-si-re-u*) on Jn 431, *a-pi-qo-ta* recurs as the head of a *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) on An 261 and Un 616.[82] For identification, see above, s.v. *a-pi-jo* and section 3.1.4.

79. **a-pi-te-ja** Perhaps *Amphistheia*[83]
Fn 187.1: possible, dative none
0/1/1

A recipient of grain and figs (ḤỌṚḌ[ ] *NI* 2) on Fn 187 in a religious context. Not all entries on Fn 187 are personal names, and it is possible that *a-pi-te-ja* is a professional or toponymic designation.[84]

80. **a-qi-zo-we** Uncertain
Aq 64.14: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

79 Lejeune 1966.
80 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 29.
81 Leukart 1994, p. 63.
82 On An 261 *r*.17, the reading *a-pị[-qo-ta-o* is not excluded.
83 Ruijgh 1967, p. 257; Ilievski 1999, p. 301.
84 Aura Jorro 1985, p. 86, s.v. *a-pi-te-ja*.

*a-qi-zo-we* appears on Aq 64 among landholders "holding plots" (*ktoinās* (*h*)*ekhontes, ko-to-na e-ko-te*).

81. **a-ra-i-jo** Probably *Araios*
An 261.8: certain, nominative none
]ra-i-jo
Vn 851.14: certain, dative none
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

*a-ra-i-jo* is a member of the *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) of *a-pi-jo* on An 261. The fragmentary ]*ra-i-jo* is a recipient of *de-mi-ni-ja* (probably beds) on Vn 851. It is possible but unlikely that *a-ra-i-jo* and ]*ra-i-jo* are the same individual. *o-two-we*, who is the head of a *geronsiā* on An 261, also appears on Vn 851. However, *a-ra-i-jo* does not appear in the *geronsiā* of *o-two-we* on An 261, but in *a-pi-jo*'s. There are no other overlapping names between the two texts. See section 4.7.

82. **]ạ-re-[ ]-o[ ]-jo** Uncertain
An 435.14: probable, nominative?

Perhaps the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*.

83. **a-re-i-jo** *Arehios* or *Arēios* (cf. Ἄρειος, Ἀρήιος)[85]
An 656.6: certain, nominative *ne-wo-ki-to* (HP)
1/1/1

*a-re-i-jo* is listed as a *hekʷetās* associated with the *o-ka* of *wa-pa-ro-jo*. His patronymic is *pe-re-qo-ni-jo*, so his father's name is *pe-re-qo-no*. His father is possibly the individual named in the Ea and Jn series (see below, s.v. *pe-re-qo-no*).

84. **a-re-ki-si-to** *Aleksitos* (cf. Ἀλεξιτώ)[86]
Vn 865.6: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

A man in a list of shipwrights.

[85] Ilievski 1999, p. 307. Theophorics derived from Ares are rare in alphabetic Greek: R. Parker 2000, p. 55 n. 9.
[86] In general on *-to-*, see Ilievski 1996.

85. **a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo** Ἀλεκτρύων[87]
An 654.8: certain, nominative HP (*u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo*?)[88]
Es 650.2: certain, nominative none
a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo-ṇọ-ne (scribal error for a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo-ne)
Es 649.1: certain, dative none
a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo-no
Es 644.2: certain, genitive none
Identification certain 1/1/1

*Alektruōn* is a *hekʷetās* attached to the *o-ka* of *Klumenos* (*ku-ru-me-no*).[89] He is identified as the son of one Ἐτεοκλῆς (*e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo, Etewoklēwēhios*. This patronymic appears again on Aq 64, where it modifies *ne-qe-u*, who is consequently *Alketruōn*'s brother. *Alketruōn* is also one of the landholders and contributors in the Es series; he holds GRA 7 of land, the most substantial landholding in this series. Lindgren thought that the *Alektruōn* of the *o-ka* texts and the Es series was probably the same individual.[90] I view the prosopographical identification as certain, given the close connection between the *e-qe-ta* and the Es series; see section 4.2.3.

86. ***a-re-to** Probably Ἀρέθων or Ἀρέτων
a-re-to-to
Sa 1265: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

**a-re-to* is responsible for work on one pair of serviceable chariot wheels with a border (ROTA+*TE*).

87. **a-re-wo** Uncertain
An 340.11: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man is with (*pa-ro*) the individual named *a-ta-o*, probably in a craft context.

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87 Risch 1990; Neumann 1995, p. 142; García Ramón 2011, p. 228 and n. 48.

88 *u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo* is the ethnic applied to the 60 men associated with *Alektruōn*, and presumably the location of these men (and *Alketruōn*) is indicated by their ethnic (Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 31; Lang 1990, p. 121).

89 No toponym is explicitly given for this *o-ka*, but perhaps the ethnics of the groups of men in the unit indicate its location. Lang 1990, p. 121.

90 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 31.

88. **a-ri-ja-to** Uncertain[91]
An 724.9: possible, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
0/1/0

It is not certain that *a-ri-ja-to* is a personal name, due to difficulties in the interpretation of An 724, a text recording missing rowers.[92]

89. **a-ri-qa** Probably *Arisgʷās* (cf. Ἀρίσβας)[93]
Jn 832.14: certain, nominative *a-to-mo?*
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

90. **a-ri-wo** *Ariwōn* (cf. Ἀρίων)
Cn 655.12: certain, nominative *ma-ro* (HP)
La 1393.1: certain, nominative none/not preserved?
a-ri-wo-ne
Cn 131.8: certain, dative *ma-ro* (HP)
Identification certain (Cn), tenuous (La) 1/2/2

*a-ri-wo* appears in two related contexts. He is a shepherd of 100 penned male sheep on Cn 131, and on Cn 655 he is the shepherd of 14 or more sheep (probably male sheep), with *a-ke-o* as his "collector" (*a-ke-o-jo a-ko-ra*). The heavy overlap between Cn 131 and 655 makes the prosopographical identification of the two instances certain (section 3.2.1). On La 1393, *Ariwōn* appears to be responsible for the production of 40 textiles, probably under the *ta-ra-si-ja* system.[94] There are probably no other personal names recorded on La texts at Pylos, so it is difficult to identify the textile producer with the shepherd, although these economic fields are clearly related to each other.

91. **a-ro-ja** Perhaps *Aloiā* or *Aloiās*[95]
Fn 187.20: possible, dative none
0/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD V 3) in a religious context.

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91 Perhaps Ἁλίαρτος or *Arianthos*. García Ramón 2012, p. 122.
92 Aura Jorro 1985, p. 103; Chadwick 1987a, pp. 81.
93 See von Kamptz 1982, pp. 320–321. García Ramón 2012, p. 122, suggests as a possibility *Arigʷās*, a hypocoristic of *Ariboulos*.
94 Duhoux 1976, p. 70 (*ta-ra-*[ is preserved on La 1393.1). La 1393 is not associated with the (probably earlier) La tablets from room 6; see Skelton 2010, pp. 108–109.
95 The name could be feminine or masculine. Cf. Ἀλωεύς (von Kamptz 1982, p. 40).

92. **a-ro-je-u** Perhaps *Aloieus* (cf. Ἀλωεύς)[96]
Nn 831.6: probable, nominative perhaps *ko-ri-*[*to*
0/1/1

*a-ro-je-u* is responsible for the payment of one unit of flax.

93. **a-ro-ka** Uncertain
Un 1319.4: possible, nominative/dative? none/not preserved
0/1/0

All of the words on Un 1319 are possibly personal names, although in no case is this identification certain. This tablet seems to concern large amounts of different kinds of grain (GRA), differentiated only by single syllabograms.

94. **a-sa-ma-o** Uncertain
Cn 1287.8: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

*a-sa-ma-o* appears to be responsible for a single female goat; the small numbers argue for this being a tablet recording the sending of animals to the palatial authority for consumption.[97]

95. **a-sa-ma-to** Uncertain
Sa 761: probable, genitive? none
1/1/1

*a-sa-ma-to* is listed against two pairs (*ZE*) of chariot wheels. If his name is genitive, then the nominative of his name should be **a-sa-ma*.

96. **a-si-wi-jo** *Aswios*
Cn 285.12: certain, nominative *ro-u-so* (HP)
Eq 146.11: certain, nominative none
Identification possible; identification with *a-*64-jo* tenuous 1/2/2

*a-si-wi-jo* is a shepherd of 11̣6̣ male sheep at *ro-u-so*. He also appears as a landholder of GRA T 7 on Eq 146. On Eq 146, he is called *ị-qọ-na-to-mo*, a title unattested elsewhere.[98] For identification of the landholder with the shepherd, see section 3.2.6.

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[96] von Kamptz 1982, p. 40.
[97] Halstead 2002, p. 163.
[98] Chadwick (1979, p. 25) has etymologized this title as *hippōn* ("of the horses") + *a-to-mo* (a known title of uncertain meaning). Cf. *ke-re-te-u*, who holds a large plot of land (GRA 5) on

It is worth considering whether *a-si-wi-jo* can be identified with *a-*64-jo*, given that **64* probably has the value *twi* ⟩ *swi*.[99] Both occurrences of *a-si-wi-jo* are written by Hand 1, while *a-*64-jo* is written by H31, Ciii, and H2 (although H2 does write *a-si-wi-ja* on Fr 1206). There are however no contextual associations between *a-si-wi-jo* and *a-*64-jo* that would suggest prosopographical identification.

97. **a-ta** Perhaps Ἀνθᾶς[100]
An 39 *v*.9: certain, nominative/dative none
1/1/1

*a-ta* is listed in a personnel register.

98. ***a-ta-[ ]-wo**
a-ta-[ ]-wo-no
Pa 889: certain, genitive none (*ẹ-re-te-ri-ja*?)[101]
1/1/1

A *g^w^asileus* in charge of a *qa-si-re-wi-ja* that produces 11 units of **169* (probably beds).

99. **a-ta-ma-ne-u** Perhaps *Athamaneus*
Cn 655.10: certain, nominative *ma-ro* (HP)
a-ta-ma-ne-we
Cn 131.10: certain, dative *ma-ro* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

*a-ta-ma-ne-u* is a shepherd of 140 penned male sheep on Cn 131 and 60 old male sheep on Cn 655. For identification, see section 3.2.1.

100. ***a-ta-no** Ἀντάνωρ
a-ta-no-re
Vn 130.7: certain, dative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
a-ta-no-ro
Fn 50.3: certain, genitive none
Identification probable 1/2/1

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Ea 59 "on account of the horse" (*e-ne-ka , i-qo-jo*). Although the header in the first line of Eq 146 reads "thus the *te-re-ta* [hold]," it seems that he is not a *te-re-ta*, as he appears in the second paragraph, which is separated from the first paragraph by three blank lines. This interpretation is corroborated by the fact that the other landholder in the second paragraph (]*me-no*) has a title (*i-ja-te*, ἰατήρ, "doctor"), while the landholders in the first paragraph have no title.

99 Melena 2000, pp. 35–36; forthcoming.

100 Ilievski 1996, p. 53.

101 Cf. Pa 398.

*Antanōr* is the head of a *qa-si-re-wi-ja* on Fn 50 (and is therefore a *gʷasileus*) that receives an unpreserved amount of grain (HORD). On Vn 130, there are four vessels with *a-ta-no*. The craft context of Vn 130 suggests prosopographical identification (see section 2.4).[102]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 101. | **a-ta-o** | Probably *Antāhos* (cf. Ἀντάων)[103] | |
| | An 340.2–14: certain, dative | none | |
| | Fn 324.12: certain, dative | none | |
| | Jn 431.23: certain, nominative | *a-pe-ke-e* | |
| a-ta-ọ | | | |
| | An 340.1: certain, dative | none | |
| a-ta-o-jo | | | |
| | Vn 34.5: certain, genitive | none | |
| Identification certain (An, Jn), tenuous (Fn), possible (Vn) | | | 1/3/3 |

On Jn 431, *a-ta-o* is a Potnian smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*. On An 340, a number of named individuals are with *a-ta-o*, probably in a craft context. *a-ta-o* also appears on Vn 34 in a list of men's names in the genitive modifying the names of women. "Tinwasian" *a-ta-o* receives a ration of grain (HORD T 1 V 1) on Fn 324.12.[104] Lindgren reports that all attestations of *a-ta-o* are "possibly the same individual."[105] Lindgren rightly argues that the "tinwasian" ethnic does not necessarily mark a difference from the *a-ta-o* without an ethnic, since whether or not an individual receives an ethnic (or professional) designation depends on the tablet.[106] The *a-ta-o* of Jn 431 and An 340 are certainly the same person, given the large amount of overlap between the personal names in An 340 and the Jn series (see section 3.1.5). This individual can possibly be identified with the *a-ta-o* on Vn 34 (see section 4.7). The connections to Fn 324 are tenuous, since most of the names on that text are singletons.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **a-ta-ro** | see *a₃-ta-ro* | |
| 102. | **a-ta-ro-we** | Probably *Aithalowens* (cf. Αἰθάλης) | |
| | An 129.2: certain, nominative | none | |
| | | | 1/1/1 |

102 Killen 2006a, pp. 81–82.
103 Ruijgh 1967, p. 186 n. 442, cf. Bechtel [1917] 1964, p. 57.
104 *ti-nwa-si-jo* is probably an ethnic from a topnym **ti-nwa-to* (see Aura Jorro 1993, p. 350, s.v. *ti-nwa-si-jo*).
105 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 33.
106 Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 128.

*a-ta-ro-we* appears in a personnel register. On the tenuous prosopographical identification with *a*$_3$*-ta-ro-we*, see below, s.v. *a*$_3$*-ta-ro-we*.

103. **a-ta-tu-ro** Uncertain
Cn 436.2: certain, nominative none
Jn 431.10: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
Identification probable 1/2/1

*a-ta-tu-ro* appears on Jn 431 as a smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*, and on Cn 436 as a herder of 38 male goats. Another smith from Jn 431 (*ko-tu-ro*$_2$) also appears on Cn 436, suggesting prosopographical identification. See section 3.1.2.[107]

104. **a-ta-wo** Perhaps *Anthāwōn* or *Antāwōn* (cf. Ἀντάων)
An 192.9: certain, nominative none
a-ta-wo-ne-jo
Eq 36.12: certain, adjective from *a-ta-wo* none/not preserved
Identification tenuous 1/1/1

*a-ta-wo* appears on a personnel register of high-status individuals on An 192. There appears to be an adjective formed from his name, *a-ta-wo-ne-jo*, which appears on the landholding Eq 36.[108] However, Eq 36 is too fragmentary to connect it with other texts.

105. **a-te-ra-wo** Uncertain[109]
Qa 1304: certain, nominative *ka-ra-do-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A recipient of an unpreserved number of animal hides (**189*).

106. ***a-te-wo** Uncertain
a-te-wo-jo
Sa 797: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

This individual is responsible for work on one pair of serviceable chariot wheels with a border (ROTA+*TE*).

107. **a-ti[**
Fn 837.5: certain, dative none

107 Lindgren identifies two individuals; Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 34.

108 Killen 1983b, p. 70, finds the identification possible, based on the high status of *a-ta-wo* on An 192 and the parallelism with *po-se-da-o-no do-e-ro* on Eq 36.15.

109 Perhaps a compound whose second element is *lāwos*.

This priest (*i-je-re-u*) is the recipient of an unpreserved amount of grain (HORD).

108. **a-ti-ja-wo** *Antiāwōn* (cf. Ἀντίων)
An 654.2: certain, nominative HP (*me-ta-pa*?)[110]
Jn 845.12: certain, nominative not preserved
Identification possible 1/2/2

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 845, *Antiāwōn* appears as an officer in the *o-ka* of *ku-ru-me-no* on An 654. On identification, see section 3.1.3.

109. **a-ti-pa-mo** Ἀντίφαμος[111]
Jn 750.4: certain, nominative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
a-ti-p̣ạ-mo
Jn 320.6: certain, nominative *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-ụ*
Identification certain 1/1/1

A smith on Jn 320 and Jn 750 with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 and M 1 N 2 respectively. For identification, see section 3.1.1.

110. **a-ti-ṛọ** Perhaps Ἀντίλος[112]
An 661.2: certain, nominative *e-na-po-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

An officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *e-ki-no*. There is some space following his name, but it is probably complete; the reading *a-ti-ṛọ-*[ ] is not likely.

111. **a-tu-ko** *Atukhos*
En 609.5: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 211.2: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 301.5: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Jn 725.7: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Jn 927.11: certain, nominative ]*ṃẹ-no*
ạ-ṭụ-ḳọ
Jn 658.10: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
[a-tu-ko]
Eb 903: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

110 See Lang 1990, p. 121.
111 Neumann 1995, pp. 146–147 and n. 62.
112 Ilievski 1992, p. 339.

*Atukhos* is a landholder identified as the "armorer of the *wanax*" (*e-te-do-mo wa-na-ka-te-ro*, *entesdomos wanakteros*).[113] On En 609.5 (= Eo 211.2), he has a *ki-ti-me-na* plot of GRA V 1 from a *telestās* named *wa-na-ta-jo*. On Ep 301.5 (= Eb 903?), he has a *ke-ke-me-na* plot from the *dāmos* of uncertain size. The same name appears on three Jn texts. He is *a-ta-ra-si-jo* on Jn 927; on Jn 658, he has a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES Ṃ 5, and he has a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 725 without a specific amount of metal recorded. There can be no doubt, based on his description that we are dealing with the same person on all three E- tablets (see section 4.2) and all the Jn texts (see sections 2.2, 3.1.1). For the prosopographical identification of the smith with the armorer, see section 2.4. The toponym *e-ni-pa-te-we* is close to *a-ke-re-wa*, which is not very distant from *pa-ki-ja-ne* (see section 2.3).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 112. | **a-wa-ne-u** | Uncertain | |
| | Vn 865.6: certain, nominative | none | |
| ]wa-ne-u | | | |
| | An 261.12: certain, nominative | none | |
| Identification tenuous | | | 1/2/2 |

This man appears in a list of shipwrights in Vn 865, and possibly on An 261 as a member of the *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) of *ta-we-si-jo* (see section 4.7).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 113. | **a-wa-ta** | Probably *Arwātās* (cf. Ἄρητος, Ἀρήτη) | |
| | An 340.13: certain, nominative | none | |
| | | | 1/1/1 |

This man is with (*pa-ro*) the individual named *a-ta-o*, probably in a craft context.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 114. | **a-we-ke-se-u** | *Awekseus*[114] | |
| | Cn 285.5–6: certain, nominative | *ro-u-so* (HP) | |
| | Cn 595.2: certain, nominative | *me-ta-pa* (HP) | |
| | Jn 605.7: certain, nominative | *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (HP) | |
| a-we-ke-se-we | | | |
| | Cn 131.9: certain, dative | *ma-ro* (HP) | |
| Identification certain | | | 1/1/1 |

*a-we-ke-se-u* is a smith on Jn 605 without a *ta-ra-si-ja*. On Cn 131, he is a shepherd of 170 penned male sheep; on Cn 285 he is a herder of 50 male

[113] Palaima 1997.
[114] Ilievski 1996, p. 64. Cf. Αὐξάνων etc.

sheep and 30 male goats, and on Cn 595 he is recorded as owing five OVIS+*TA*. All of the toponyms at which he is listed are in the northern Hither Province, with the exception of *ro-u-so*, located in the southern Hither Province. For prosopographical identification, see sections 3.1.2 and 3.2.1.

115. **a-wo-i-jo** Possibly *Āw*(*h*)*ohios*[115]
Cn 599.5: certain, dative *a₂-pa-tu-wo-te* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of 50 female goats.

116. **a-*64-ja** *Aswiā*[116]
Vn 34.2: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This woman is listed against the man's name *ka-e-sa-me-no* in the genitive (probably the *hekʷetās* of An 656), perhaps in the context of craft production.

117. **a-*64-jo** *Aswios*[117]
Cn 1287.1: certain, nominative none
Fn 324.3: certain, dative none
Jn 832.11: certain, nominative *a-to-mo?*
Identification possible (Cn and Jn), tenuous (Fn); with *a-si-wi-jo*, tenuous 1/3/3

On Jn 832, *a-*64-jo* is a smith designated as a decorator (*a-ḳẹ-te* for *a-ke-te-re, askēteres*, cf. ἀσκητής). On Fn 324, he is the recipient of HORD T 1 V 2. Finally, on Cn 1287 he is called a messenger (*a-ke-ro*, ἄγγελος) and he contributes a single female goat, presumably for consumption. The connections between these texts are not very strong. The prosopographical identification of the smith and the individual on Cn 1287 is possible; there are two other possible matches with smiths on Cn 1287 (*qe-ta-ko* and *da-u-da-ro*). On Fn 324, the only other smith's name is *a-ta-o*.

A₂

118. **a₂-di-je-u** Uncertain[118]
An 656.2: certain, nominative *ne-wo-ki-to* (HP)
1/1/1

115 Ilievski 1992, p. 328.
116 Melena 2000, pp. 34–36; forthcoming.
117 Melena 2000, pp. 34–36; forthcoming.
118 J.L. García Ramón suggested to me (pers. comm. 2005) a hypocoristic beginning in Ἀδ-ι° or Ἡδ-ι°.

An officer in the *o-ka* of *wa-pa-ro*.

119. **$a_2$-e-ta** Uncertain
An 261.4: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

A member of the *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) of *o-two-we*.

120. **$a_2$-ku-mi-jo** Uncertain
Na 926.a: probable, nominative *pa-ka-a-ka-ri*
1/1/1

This individual holds land in respect to which he is to pay six units of flax. His land is called *a-ki-ti-to* (apparently ἄκτιτον, "uncultivated").[119]

121. **$a_2$-ku-ni-jo** Uncertain
An 656.12: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

An officer in the *o-ka* of *du-wo-jo*.

122. **$a_2$-nu-me-no** *Hanumenos*
Jn 389.12: certain, nominative *a-ka-si-jo-ne*
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

123. **$a_2$-ra-ka-wo** Uncertain
Cn 1287.7: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This individual, a servant of **ke-re-ta* (*ke-re-ta-o do-e-ro*),[120] contributes one female goat to the palace.

124. **$a_2$-ta** Perhaps *Haltās*[121]
An 209.2: certain, nominative none (*ko-ri-to*?)
1/1/1

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119 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 470; Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 44–45, s.v. *a-ki-ti-to*. Although it has been doubted that *$a_2$-ku-mi-jo* is a personal name, the word order and structure of the text make it difficult to interpret otherwise; Ruijgh 1967, p. 340.

120 The meaning of *ke-re-ta-o* is obscure (Aura Jorro 1985, p. 348, s.v. *ke-re-ta-o*). The entry immediately before it records the servant of the deity *Diwiā*, so it might be a divinity or religious functionary.

121 See von Kamptz 1982, p. 145.

This man appears in a list of Korinthian *statēres* (*ta-te-re*).

125. **]-a$_2$-ta**
An 172.10: certain, nominative *ro-o-wa* (HP)

The name of a man in a personnel text with craft associations (see below, s.v. *wo-wi-ja-ta*). It may be possible to read *ẉạ-a$_2$-ta*.

126. **a$_2$-te-po** Uncertain
An 519.10: doubtful, nominative?
0/1/0

This word is probably not a personal name, but could be a toponym or perhaps a conjunction of some kind.[122] If a name, then he is an officer in the *o-ka* of *ke-wo-no*. See section 2.4.

127. **a$_2$-zo-qi-jo** Uncertain
Un 1193.4: doubtful, dative?
0/1/0

This word may be a personal name or a toponym. It is more likely to be a toponym: entries in Un 1193 appear to consist of a toponym (*wo-no-qe-we*, line 2) or a toponym followed by a personal name in genitive (*a-ke-re-we , we-da-ne-wo*, line 3), and *a$_2$-zo-qi-jo* is the only lexical item in its entry.

### A$_3$

128. **a$_3$-ke-re-u** Perhaps *Aigleus* (cf. Αἴγλων)
a$_3$-ke-]re-u[
Eb 177.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
ạ$_3$-ḳẹ-re-u
Ep 613.6: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This individual holds a plot of GRA 1 T 2, and is identified as a *a-si-to-po-qo* and a *ka-ma-e-u* (Ep 613.6 recapitulates Eb 177). The first term only appears in association with *a$_3$-ke-re-u*; its etymology is uncertain (perhaps it is a mistake for *si-to-po-qo*). The second is a common title indicating that the individual in question is the possessor of a *ka-ma* landholding.

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122 Aura Jorro 1985, p. 131, s.v. *a$_2$-te-po*; Ruijgh 1967, pp. 289–336; Mühlestein 1980, p. 1424.

129. **$a_3$-ke-u** Αἰγεύς
Ta 641.1: possible, nominative none
0/1/0

This word is used to modify a tripod in the Ta series. Palaima has argued that it specifies a certain "make" of Cretan tripod.[123]

130. **$a_3$-ki[**
An 615.4: probable, case uncertain *ko-no*?
0/1/0

Perhaps a personal name. The function of this text is obscure.

131. **$a_3$-ki-$a_2$-ri-jo** *Aigihalios* (cf. Αἰγιάλεια)[124]
Fn 50.4: certain, dative none
Fn 79.15: certain, dative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This individual receives allotments of grain: HORD V 2 on Fn 50 and HORD T 1 V 4 on Fn 79. For identification, see section 4.3.

132. ***$a_3$-ki-e-u** Probably *Aigiheus* (cf. Αἰγιεύς)
$a_3$-ki-e-wo
Jn 605.10: certain, genitive *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (HP)
$a_3$-ki-e-we
Vn 130.4: certain, dative *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

On Jn 605, *$a_3$-ki-e-u* is listed as having two servants. On Vn 130, four vessels are listed as being with him at *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*. The fact that the same name is listed at the same toponym in both texts suggests that prosopographical identification may be regarded as certain; see section 2.4.

133. **$a_3$-ki-wa-ro** Uncertain
Es 644.5: certain, nominative none
Es 650.5: certain, nominative none
Es 653.1: certain, nominative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This servant (*do-e-ro*) of Artemis holds a plot of land (GRA 1) in the Es series.

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123 Palaima 2003c.
124 *Il.* 5.412.

134. **a₃-ko-ta** Perhaps *Aigortās*[125]
An 657.14A: certain, nominative *o-wi-to-no* (HP)
Aq 218.6: certain, nominative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is a *hekʷetās* attached to the *o-ka* of *ne-da-wa-ta*. The same name appears on Aq 218, where he is given the patronymic *a-da-ra-ti-jo*. There are a number of prosopographical connections between the Aq texts and the *o-ka* texts; moreover, on both texts, *a₃-ko-ta* is paired with (and directly follows) *a-e-ri-qo-ta* (see section 4.1). *ḍị-ko-na-ro*, another *hekʷetās*, is also designated as *a-da-ra-ti-jo*; presumably he and *a₃-ko-ta* are brothers. See s.vv. *a-da-ra-ti-jo*, *ḍị-ko-na-ro*.

135. **a₃-me-wa** Perhaps *Aimēwās*
Vn 865.2: certain, nominative none
a₃-me-wa[
Mb 1376: probable, nominative none
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

*a₃-me-wa* appears on a list of shipwrights on Vn 865. On Mb 1376 he is listed against five units of **146*, a textile; probably the textile is being allocated to him.[126] There are no connections between Vn 865 and the Mb series (see section 4.5).

136. **a₃-nu-me-no** *Ainumenos*
An 261.2: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

A member of the *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) of *o-two-we*.

137. **a₃-pu-ke-ne-ja** *Aipugeneia*
Fn 79.1: certain, dative none
1/1/1

This woman is the recipient of a very large amount of grain (64 liters, HORD T 6 V 4) and olives (96 liters, OLIV 1).[127]

125 Leukart 1994, p. 89.
126 Shelmerdine 2002, pp. 314–318.
127 It may be that these staples are for a number of individuals under *Aipugeneia*'s supervision. Some individuals on this text receive as little as 6 liters of grain [HORD V 5], and as Chadwick (1976, pp. 118–119) has shown, this is probably a five-day ration.

138. **$a_3$-so-ni-jo** Probably *Aisōnios* (cf. Αἴσων)
Jn 310.3: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
Jn 706.11: certain, nominative *pa-to-wo-te*
ạ$_3$-ṣọ-ni-jo
An 261.13: certain, nominative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

*$a_3$-so-ni-jo* is a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2 on Jn 310 and M 5 on Jn 706. He is also a member of the *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) of *a-pi-qo-ta*, a fellow smith, on An 261. Lindgren distinguished between three individuals,[128] but the strong connections between An 261 and the Jn series make prosopographical identification certain (see sections 3.1.1, 3.1.4).

139. **$a_3$-ta-ro** *Aithalos* (cf. Αἰθάλης)
Jn 415.2: certain, nominative *ru-ko-a$_2$-ke-re-u-te*
a-ta-ro
An 35.5: certain, nominative none
Identification probable 1/2/1

*$a_3$-ta-ro* is a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5 on Jn 415. The similarly named *a-ta-ro* appears on An 35 in an apparent exchange of large amounts of staples for alum (*tu-ru-pte-ri-ja*). The only other occurrence of alum at Pylos is Un 443, where the agent of the exchange is *Kuprios* (*ku-pi-ri-jo*), probably the same individual as the shepherd and the smith. See further section 3.1.9.

140. **$a_3$-ta-ro-we** *Aithalowens* (cf. Αἰθάλης)
Cn 328.15: certain, nominative *a-ka-na-jo* (HP)
a$_3$-ta-ṛọ-we
Cn 285.2: certain, nominative *ro-u-so* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

On Cn 328 *$a_3$-ta-ro-we* is responsible for 70 female sheep. His flock is not preserved on Cn 285, but is probably composed of male goats. Since *a-ka-na-jo* is in the neighborhood of *ro-u-so* there is no reason to doubt prosopographical identification (see section 2.3, cf. section 3.2.1). There is no reason to identify *$a_3$-ta-ro-we* with *a-ta-ro-we*.[129]

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128 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 38.

129 It is possible to find links connecting *$a_3$-ta-ro-we* with *a-ta-ro-we*, but they are embarrassingly tenuous: *a-ta-ro-we* appears on An 129, where there is an individual named *to-ro-wo* who appears on Vn 130. On Vn 130 is *wi-sa-to*, who also appears on Cn 285 with *$a_3$-ta-ro-we*. It is probably best in the absence of other evidence not to consider their prosopographical identification.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 141. | **$a_3$-ti-jo-qo** | *Aithiokʷs/Aithiōkʷs* (cf. Αἰθίοψ) | |
| | Eb 156.2: certain, nominative | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| | Eb 846.A: certain, nominative | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| | En 74.11: certain, nominative | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| | Eo 247.1: certain, nominative | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| | Ep 301.2: certain, nominative | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| $a_3$-ti-jo-q̣ọ | | | |
| | En 74.12: certain, nominative | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| $a_3$-ti-jo-qe | | | |
| | Eo 247.2–7: certain, dative | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| Identification certain | | | 1/1/1 |

*$a_3$-ti-jo-qo* is one of the *telestai* of *Sphagiānes* (*pa-ki-ja-ne*). He holds GRA 1 T 5 V 4 of *ki-ti-me-na* land and has six lessors: *e-pa-sa-na-ti, ku-*63-so, ta-$ra_2$-to, we-te-re-u, e-ko-to, ko-ri-si-ja*. He is also identified as a *ko-to-no-o-ko* on Ep 301 and Eb 846, where he holds a plot of GRA 1 T 4 V 3 of *ke-ke-me-na* land. See section 4.2.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 142. | **$a_3$-wa-ja** | *Aiwaiā*[130] | |
| | En 74.22: certain, nominative | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| | Eo 160.2: certain, nominative | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| Identification certain | | | 1/1/1 |

This female servant of the god (*te-o-jo do-e-ra*) holds GRA T 1 of *ki-ti-me-na* land from *pi-ke-re-u*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 143. | **$a_3$-wo-ḍị-jo-no** | Uncertain | |
| | Wo 1247: possible, genitive? | none | |
| | | | 0/1/0 |

This word inscribed on a sealing found in Room 24 in the oil magazines is suggested to be a man's name in the genitive by Ventris and Chadwick.[131]

[130] Cf. Αἰαίη (*Od.* 10.135).
[131] Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 537.

AU

144. ***au-ke-i-ja-te-u*** Perhaps *Augeiāteus* (cf. Αὐγείας)[132]
au-ke-i-ja-te-we
An 1281.4: certain, dative none
Ub 1318.1: certain, dative none
Ub 1318.1: certain, dative none
Ub 1318.2: certain, dative none
au-ke-i-jạ-ṭẹ-ẉẹ[
An 1281.10: certain, dative none
au[-ke-i-]ja-te-wo
Fn 50.11: certain, dative none
Identification certain (An, Fn), probable (Ub) 1/2/1

On Fn 50, **au-ke-i-ja-te-u* is the possesor of servants (*do-e-ro-i*) who are allotted 9.6 liters of grain (HORD T 1). **au-ke-i-ja-te-u* is assigned three men (named *o-na-se-u*, *ta-ni-ko*, and [ ]*ro*) on An 1281 in a craft production context, and it is possible that these men are his servants on Fn 50. On Ub 1318, **au-ke-i-ja-te-u* appears again in a craft context, this time involving the production of leather goods. The craft context argues for prosopographical identification with the individual from Fn 50 and An 1281. See further section 3.1.7.

145. **au-ke-wa** *Augēwās* (cf. Αὐγέας)
An 192.4: certain none
Jo 438.23: certain none
Ta 711.1: certain, accusative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

On An 192, *Augēwās* appears without a title on a list of high-status individuals. On Jo 438, again without a title, he is listed against N 1 of gold (240 g), an above-average amount. On Ta 711, we discover that the *wanax* appointed *Augēwās* to the office of *dāmokoros* and it is on this occasion that an inventory of palatial furniture is made. All three instances of *Augēwās* should refer to a single individual. See section 4.1.

146. **au-ta-mo** Probably *Authaimōn*
Jn 658.4: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Jn 725.2: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

[132] von Kamptz 1982, p. 305.

On Jn 658, *au-ta-mo* has a *ta-ra-si-ja* of M 5; on Jn 725, he is listed as having a *ta-ra-si-ja* but without a specified amount of metal. On identification, see sections 2.2, 3.1.1.

147. **au-to-ạ[**
Cn 938.1: probable, dative — not preserved
Identification with *au-to-a$_2$-ta* tenuous — 0/1/1

A shepherd on Cn 938, a very fragmentary text. Identifying this fragmentary name with *au-to-a$_2$-ta* is very tenuous, due to the differences in spelling (*a$_2$* vs. *ạ*) and the fact that *au-to-* is a reasonably common prefix in Mycenaean names.

148. **au-to-a$_2$-ta** — Perhaps *Autohatās*[133]
Cn 314.3: certain, nominative — none/not preserved
1/1/1

A shepherd of 162 male sheep.

149. **au-to-*34-ta-ra** — Perhaps *Autoaithrā*(*s*) or *Autoaithalā*(*s*)[134]
Fn 187.10: possible, dative — none
0/1/1

A recipient of HORD T 1 in a religious context.

DA

150. **da-i-ja-ke-re-u** — Probably *daiagreus*[135]
Aq 218.3: doubtful, nominative — none
0/1/0

This word is probably a title, not a personal name.[136]

151. **]da-je-we**
Vn 851.4: certain, dative — none/not preserved
1/1/1

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133 Lejeune 1973, p. 196.
134 Melena 2000, p. 15; forthcoming. This name could be masculine or feminine.
135 A compound, from δαίνυμι and ἀγρός (Aura Jorro 1985, p. 139 and n. 1), or from δάϊς and ἀγρέω (J.L. García Ramón, pers. comm. 2005).
136 Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 30–31.

This man is a recipient of one unit of *de-mi-ni-ja* (probably beds).

152. **da-ka-sa-na-ta** Uncertain
An 172.6: certain, nominative *e-ro-ma-to*
1/1/1

*da-ka-sa-na-ta* appears in a simple personnel text with craft associations (see below, s.v. *wo-wi-ja-ta*).

153. **da-ṃạ-so** Uncertain
Jn 431.3: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5.

154. **da-mi-ni-jo** Perhaps *Damnios*[137]
da-mi-ni-jo[ ]
An 610.13: possible, genitive? none
da-ṃị[-ni-ja
Aa 96: adjective none (= *pu-ro*, HP)
da-mi-ni-ja
Ad 697: adjective none
0/1/0

On An 610, 40 men are recorded as *da-mi-ni-jo*, which could be an ethnic description of the men, or the name of the man responsible for providing them for service. In the latter case, the name should be in the genitive, *da-mi-ni-jo*[*-jo*] (cf. the following entries *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo-no* [An 610.13] and *we-da-ne-wo* [An 610.14]). The adjective *da-mi-ni-ja* modifying the textile workers on Aa 96 and Ad 697 should be an ethnic; an adjective formed from the name *Damnios* should yield *da-mi-ni-je-ja*.[138] There is a "collector" at Knossos in the Da-Dg series with the name *Damnios* (*da-mi-ni-jo*), and the overall pattern of "international collectors" has encouraged the identification of these words as derived from a personal name.[139] Nevertheless, all of the Pylian occurrences are consistent with an adjective derived from a toponym rather than a personal name.

155. **da-na-ko** Uncertain
An 209.7: certain, nominative none (*ko-ri-to*?)
1/1/1

137 Ruijgh 1967, pp. 163, 170.
138 See Killen 1983b on this type of adjective formation.
139 Olivier 2001, pp. 142, 153.

This individual appears in a personnel list of Korinthian *statēres* (*ta-te-re*).

156. **ḍạ-qo-ta** Uncertain
An 661.10: certain, nominative *ti-mi-to-a-ko* (FP)
1/1/1

An officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *e-ko-me-na-ta*. The reading *ṛọ-qo-ta* is possible, but less likely.

157. **da-to-re-u** Perhaps *Daitoreus*
Cn 328.6: certain, nominative *a-ka-na-jo* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of 30 male goats.

**da-u-da-ro** see *da-u-ta-ro*

158. **da-u-ta-ro** Perhaps *Dautalos*
Jn 431.18: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
da-u-da-ro
Cn 1287.5: certain, nominative none
Identification probable 1/2/1

*da-u-ta-ro* is a Potnian smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 6. A similarly spelled name, *da-u-da-ro*, appears on Cn 1287, where it is modified by the term *pe-re-ke-u* and is listed against a single female goat.[140] It is difficult to know whether these two differently spelled names should be identified with the same person. I view prosopographical identification probable because of the onomastic overlap between the Jn series generally, and Jn 431 in particular, and Cn 1287 (see section 3.1.2).

## DE

159. **de-do-wa-re-we** Uncertain
Fn 187.6: possible, dative none
0/1/0

This may or may not be a personal name, in a text recording allocations of grain in a religious context.

140 See Aura Jorro 1993, pp. 104–105, s.v. *pe-re-ke-u*.

160. **de-ka-[·]** If *de-ka-ṭạ*, perhaps *Deiktās*[141]
Qa 1259: possible, nominative none
0/1/1

A recipient of one hide (*189). This individual is listed with the title *ṛị-ma*, a *hapax*. According to Melena, it may possibly be a "faulty reading of {*du*}-*ma*."[142]

161. **de-ki-si-wo** *Deksiwos* (cf. Δέξιος)[143]
de-ki-si-wo-jo
Vn 34.4: certain, genitive none
Identification with *a-no de-ki-si-wo* tenuous 0/1/1

This man appears in a list of men's names (genitive) and women's names (nominative). For his possible prosopographical identification with *a-no de-ki-si-wo*, see above, s.v. *a-no de-ki-si-wo*.

162. **de-ko-to** Perhaps *Dektos*
Cn 600.2: certain, nominative *o-re-e-wo wo-wo* (FP)
de-ko-to-jo
Jn 410.10: certain, genitive not preserved
Identification certain 1/1/1

A herder of 100 male sheep, he has a servant without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 410. On identification, see section 3.1.2.

163. **de-mo-qe** Uncertain
Cn 45.5: certain, dative *u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

A herder of 70 ewes, with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector."

164. **]de-ra-wo** Uncertain[144]
Fn 324.6: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD T 1 V 2).

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[141] Melena 2002b, p. 377.
[142] Melena 2002b, p. 377.
[143] Ilievski 1992, p. 328; Neumann 1995, p. 156.
[144] Perhaps a compound whose second element is *lāwos*.

165. **]de-u**
Ea 1424: probable, nominative — unknown
0/1/1

This individual holds an plot of land (of unpreserved size) from *ru-ko-ro*; both individuals are identified as belonging to the *lāwāgetās* (*ra-wa-ke-si-jo*). As no other individual at Pylos has a name that ends in *-de-u*, *-de-we* or *-de-wo*, we can be relatively certain that this is a person that does not recur in any other preserved texts.[145]

166. **de-u-ka-ri-jo** — Δευκαλίων
An 654.12: certain, nominative — none[146]
1/1/1

An officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ta-ti-qo-we*.

167. **ḍẹ-we-ro** — Probably *Dweilos*
Jn 320.4: certain, nominative — *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-ụ*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 3.

168. **de-wi-jo** — Uncertain[147]
An 519.10: certain, patronymic — *o-ru-ma-to* (HP)
Aq 218.10: certain, patronymic — none

This patronymic is applied to *ko-ma-we* (on An 519) and *pa-ku-ro*$_2$ (on Aq 218), indicating that they are brothers. See below, s.vv. *ko-ma-we*, *pa-ku-ro*$_2$.

## DI

169. **di[**
Jn 478.4: certain, nominative — *wi-ja-we-ra*$_2$ (HP)

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[145] Melena 2002b, p. 379 suggests a reconstruction of *pa-*]*de-u* based on the word *pa-de-we* on Un 219, but the repitition of the term on Un 219 effectively rules it out as a personal name.

[146] Lang (1990, p. 121) takes *wa-wo-u-de* (An 654.15) as an allative.

[147] Ruijgh 1967, p. 159 and n. 324, interpreted *de-wi-jo* as a patronymic deriving from **de-wo*, a name from δέρη, "neck." The word δέρη has been thought to derive from a labiovelar (Chantraine 1999, pp. 264, 1388, s.v. δέρη), which would entail rejecting Ruijgh's interpretation. But this etymology of δέρη is problematic, as Beekes 2010, vol. 1, p. 317, s.v. δέρη, has pointed out. Beekes instead connects δέρη (from δερϝᾱ) to δειράς (from δερϝ-αδ-), which he suggests is pre-Greek (Beekes 2010, vol. 1, pp. 310–311, s.v. δειράς, -άδος).

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4.

170. **di-da-ma-o** Uncertain
Xa 184: probable, genitive? not preserved
0/1/1

The only other preserved word on this text is *ka*-[; the break is compatible with *ka-ṃạ*[, which would imply a landholding context.

171. **ḍị-ko-na-ro** Perhaps *Dikonalos*[148]
An 656.14: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

This man is listed as a *hekʷetās* and given the patronymic *a-da-ra-ti-jo*; he is associated with the military unit (*o-ka*) of *du-wo-jo* located at *a-ke-re-wa*. He has a brother named *a₃-ko-ta*, who is also a *hekʷetās*. See above, s.vv. *a-da-ra-ti-jo*, *a₃-ko-ta*.

172. **di-nu-wa-ta** Perhaps *Dinwattās*[149]
Jn 725.24: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* (the weight is unspecified).

173. **di-qo** Uncertain
An 724.10: possible, nominative? *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
0/1/0

This word appears in a text recording missing rowers. Ruijgh argues that *di-qo* is probably an anthroponym (nominative).[150] However, given the difficulties with the interpretation of this text, and of especially the clause in which *di-qo* appears, this can only remain a possibility.

174. **di-ra-wo-no**[ Uncertain
Jn 750.12: certain, nominative or genitive *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

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148 Neumann 1995, p. 150.
149 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 540.
150 Ruijgh 1967, pp. 320–321.

175. **di-wi-ja-ẉọ** Probably *Diwyāwōn*
Na 406.B: certain, genitive *e-ko-me-no* (HP)
1/1/1

This individual holds *a-ki-ti-to* land and contributes 20 units of linen to the flax impost.[151]

176. **di-wi-je-u** *Diwieus*
An 656.9: certain, nominative *ne-wo-ki-to* (HP)
⟦di-wi-je-u⟧
An 656.2: certain, nominative *ne-wo-ki-to* (HP)
di-wi-je-we
Cn 3.2: certain, dative none
Es 645.4: certain, dative none
Es 646.4: certain, dative none
Es 647.4: certain, dative none
Es 648.4: certain, dative none
Es 649.4: certain, dative none
Es 651.4: certain, dative none
Es 653.4: certain, dative none
Es 703.4: certain, dative none
Es 726.4: certain, dative none
Es 727.4: certain, dative none
Es 728.4: certain, dative none
Es 729.4: certain, dative none
di-ẉị[-]j̣ẹ-ẉẹ
Es 652.4: certain, dative none
]ẉị-j̣ẹ-ụ [
Aq 218.2: possible, nominative *ri-so-wa*
]e-qe-ta , e-re-u-te-re[
Wa 917.2: probable, dative none
Identification certain (An 656, Cn 3, Es) 1/1/1

*Diwieus* is one of the more prominent Pylian individuals. On An 656, he is a *hek$^{w}$etās* attached to the military unit (*o-ka*) of **wa-pa-ra*. On Cn 3, *Diwieus* is designated as an "inspector" (*e-re-u-te-re*, cf. ἐρευτάς)[152] and is the dative recipient of oxen by groups of individuals. These animals are probably destined for consumption in a sacrificial feast.[153] The contributing

[151] See Aura Jorro 1993, p. 46, s.v. *o-qe-*[ ]*si* for bibliography on the supplementation *o-qe-*[*di-do-*]*si*, *ho k$^{w}$e didonsi*, "and he contributes" suggested by Chadwick (Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 473).
[152] Aura Jorro 1985, p. 243, s.v. *e-re-u-te-re*. Although it is possible that *e-re-u-te-re* is nominative plural, the word order makes this unlikely; see Hill 2002, pp. 36–44.
[153] Nikoloudis 2008b, pp. 378–380.

groups in Cn 3 are identical to troops in the *o-ka* set, demonstrating that *Diwieus* on Cn 3 is identical with the *Diwieus* on An 656, and that he is both a *hek$^{w}$etās* and an inspector.[154] The name *Diwieus* also appears in the Es series as a recipient of grain from 13–14 different landholders, the most important of which seems to be *Alektruōn*, almost certainly to be identified with the *hek$^{w}$etās* (see above, s.v. *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo*). The other recipients in the Es series are the the deity Poseidon, the obscure **34-ke-te-si*,[155] and the "collector" **we-da-ne-u*. Thus, *di-wi-je-u* of the Es series is associated with the *o-ka* texts and with livestock management. We may therefore identify these instances of the name with a single individual.[156]

*Diwieus* may also appear obliquely in the label Wa 917, whose text reads as follows:

.1 ]o-da-sa-ṭọ , a-ko-so-ṭạ[
.2 ]e-qe-ta , e-re-u-te-re[

The word order suggests that *a-ko-so-ṭạ* is the subject of the verb *-da-sa-ṭọ*, "distributed" (from δατέομαι), in which case it is tempting to understand *e-qe-ta , e-re-u-te-re* as the dative singular indirect object of the verb.[157] Although this is not the only possibility, one argument for this interpretation is that the phrase *e-qe-ta , e-re-u-te-re* does correspond to the known titles of *Diwieus*.[158] It is therefore probable that *Diwieus* is the recipient of some commodity (or commodities) distributed to him by the "collector" *a-ko-so-ta*.[159]

Palaima has very tentatively suggested that we restore the phrase *pa-ro di-wi-je-we* on Cn 418.6, a text that apparently records the collection of animals destined for consumption.[160] This would put *Diwieus* in a parallel position with **we-da-ne-u* on Cn 418. As mentioned above, *Diwieus* and **we-da-ne-u* also recur together as recipients in the Es series. Despite the plausibility of the suggestion, there is no solid evidence for this reading.

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154 Palmer 1963, pp. 172–176; Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 207; 1973, pp. 435–436; Palaima 1989, p. 104; Thompson 2006, p. 237; Nikoloudis 2008b, p. 381.

155 Aura Jorro 1993, p. 465, s.v. **35-ka-te-re*, but the sign **34/*35* is probably not be read as *ru* (Melena 2000, pp. 10–19; forthcoming).

156 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 42: "probably the same individual."

157 Chadwick 1958, p. 3; Nightingale 2008, pp. 577–578; Nakassis 2012b, pp. 280–281.

158 Use of two titles to designate a single individual is uncommon but does have parallels in PY Aq 218.3 and KN Am 821.

159 The association of Wa 917 with the Na series by Bennett (Bennett and Olivier 1976, p. 11) is very tentative (Palaima 1988, p. 41; Nakassis 2012b, pp. 280–281).

160 Palaima 1989, pp. 103–107, 115–118.

*Diwieus* also possibly appears on Aq 218.2, where is identified as the priest at *ri-so-wa*, but the reading is very tentative (it may even be possible to read ]-*p̣ị-ẉọ*-[). Three of the five entries in this paragraph are verifiably *hek$^w$etai* (*a-e-ri-qo-ta, a$_3$-ko-ta* and *ro-u-ko*); *Diwieus* would be the fourth. This circumstantial evidence is hardly sufficient to overcome the textual uncertainty, however. See further sections 3.2.3, 3.2.6, 4.2.3, 4.9.

177. **di-wo** *Diwōn* (cf. Δίων)[161]
An 172.7: certain, nominative *e-ro-ma-to*
1/1/1

*di-wo* appears in a simple personnel text with craft associations (see below, s.v. *wo-wi-ja-ta*).

DO

178. **[· - ·]-ḍọ**
An 261.11: certain, nominative none

A member of the *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) of *ta-we-si-jo*.

179. **do-qo-no** Uncertain
Cn 131.12: certain, dative *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of 80 male sheep.

180. **do-qo-ro** Uncertain
An 654.13: certain, nominative none[162]
1/1/1

An officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ta-ti-qo-we*.

181. ***do-ri-je-u** *Dōrieus*[163]
do-ri-je-we
Fn 837.13: certain, dative none
1/1/1

[161] Ilievski 1992, p. 328.
[162] Lang (1990, p. 121) takes *wa-wo-u-de* (An 654.15) as an allative.
[163] Perhaps from the toponym Δώριον (*Il.* 2.594), perhaps to be equated with the site of Malthi (Valmin 1938, p. 12; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, p. 85).

A receipient of an unpreserved amount of grain (HORD).

182. **do-ri-ka-o** Uncertain[164]
Jo 438.5: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This individual, identified as a *mo(i)rokkʷās* (*mo-ro-qa*, possessor of a share [of land]), gives a relatively large amount of gold (AUR N 1) to the palace. He is listed immediately below a *prokorētēr* and above another *mo(i)rokkʷās*.

183. **do-ro-jo** Probably *Droios*
do-ṛọ-jo
Jn 320.14: certain, nominative *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-ụ*
do-ro-jo-jo
Cn 45.6: certain, genitive [error for dative] *u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja* (HP)
Identification probable 1/2/1

*do-ro-jo* appears on Jn 320 as a smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*. On Cn 45, he is a herder of 35 female goats with *a-ko-so-ta* as his "collector." On identification, see section 3.1.2.

184. **do-ro-me-u** Δρομεύς
An 209.4: certain, nominative none (*ko-ri-to*?)
1/1/1

This individual appears on a list of Korinthian *statēres* (*ta-te-re*).

DU

**ḍụ[ ]jo-jo** see below, s.v. *du-wo-jo*

185. **du-ko-so[** Uncertain
Jn 431.22: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

A Potnian smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

[164] Neumann 1995, p. 142, suggests *Dolikhahor*. Other possibilities are *Dōrikaos* and *Dolikhāōn*. See Ilievski 1996, p. 64.

| | |
|---|---|
| 186. **du-ni-jo** Perhaps *Dunios*[165] | |
| Ae 264: certain, nominative [error for genitive] | none[166] |
| An 192.3: certain, nominative | none |
| An 192.5: certain, nominative | none |
| Ea 59.7: certain, nominative | none |
| Ea 811: certain, nominative | none |
| Eb 169.A: certain, nominative | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) |
| Ep 705.3: certain, nominative | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) |
| Fn 79.3: certain, dative | none |
| Un 138.1: certain, nominative | *pu-ro* (HP) |
| du-ni-jo-jo | |
| Ae 72: certain, genitive | *i-na-ne* |
| Ae 8: certain, genitive | *i-na-ne* |
| ]-ni-jo | |
| On 300.6: possible, dative | none |

Identification certain (An 192.3, Ea), probable (Ae, On 300), possible (Eb/Ep, Fn 79/Un 138), impossible (An 192.5) 2/6/4

This name, the most popular at Pylos, appears eleven or twelve times. Lindgren distinguishes six *personae* and wonders whether three of them are identical.[167] Two men named *du-ni-jo* appear in the high-status personnel register An 192: one is identified as a *du-ma* (An 192.3), the other as *a-no-ke-wa* (An 192.5). It seems likely that these supplemental designations serve to distinguish between two men with the same name (see section 2.4). We therefore should have at least two individuals represented by this name.

It is easiest to begin with *du-ni-jo du-ma* (An 192.3). This same man may appear on On 300.6; the name is incomplete (]*ni-jo*), but *ḍụ-ni-jo* is a possible reading, and the next entry is *du-ma-ti*, the dative of *du-ma*. The fairly extensive overlap between An 192 and On 300 (see section 4.1) suggests that the prosopographical identification of ]*ni-jo* with *du-ni-jo du-ma* is probable. A more specific link is provided by the name *a-pi-*$a_2$*-ro*, who is the first entry on An 192 and also appears on On 300.2. This link is important because *a-pi-*$a_2$*-ro*, like *du-ni-jo*, appears in the Ea landholding series. In the Ea series *du-ni-jo* holds two plots: a medium-sized plot on Ea 811 (GRA T 6), and a

[165] Ruijgh 1967, p. 145 and n. 231, who argues that it is a hypocoristic of *Dunamenos*. So too Ilievski 1992, p. 328.

[166] Perhaps we should imagine the toponym is *i-na-ne*, based on Ae 8 and Ae 72.

[167] Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, pp. 43–44; see also Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 147, where she writes that "I would prefer to refer the instances of *Dunijo* without further designations to the *Dunijo duma* and then reckon with three different individuals designated as *teojo doero*, *anokewa*, and *tinijata* respectively (regardless of whether the two last-mentioned are to be taken as place indications or as occupational descriptions)."

more substantial landholding from the *dāmos* on Ea 59 (GRA 1 T 6). The connections between *a-pi-a₂-ro* and *du-ni-jo* suggest that we can identify the *du-ni-jo du-ma* of An 192 with the landholder in the Ea series with certainty, and with the fragmentary ]*ni-jo* on On 300 with probability.

On Un 138, a large number of foodstuffs destined for consumption in a feast are *pa-ro du-ni-jo*. These products are designated as *qe-te-a₂*, i.e., to be paid as a religious fine or penalty.[168] It is more likely that the foodstuffs are kept temporarily with *du-ni-jo* than that they are paid by him.[169] Another name in the dative appears on Un 138, *me-za-wo-ni*, probably the same individual from Fn 50 (*me-za-*⟨*wo-*⟩*ne*). On Fn 79, *du-ni-jo* receives an allotment of grain (HORD V 5) which is the smallest amount distributed in this text. The relatively strong connection between Fn 50 and Fn 79 suggests that we may identify *du-ni-jo* from Un 138 and *du-ni-jo* from Fn 79 with certainty (see section 4.3). It is difficult to connect this *du-ni-jo* to the *du-ni-jo du-ma* with whom we began this discussion.

On Fn 79, *du-ni-jo* is called *ti-ni-ja-ta*, probably an ethnic referring to the place-name of *ti-no*. This toponym probably appears in the Na series (Na 565), and is where 90 cowherds are located (on An 18). On Na 565, the name *ke-re-te-u* probably also appears, which perhaps provides a (spatial) link between the *du-ni-jo* of Fn 79 and the landholder in the Ea series. Indeed, Leonard Palmer used this coincidence to argue that the Ea series recorded landholdings at *ti-no*.[170] There are, however, problems. There is little spacing between *ke-re-te-u* and *ti-no* on Na 565, which makes the separation of the two words probable, but not certain. Moreover, there is no particular reason to believe that because *ke-re-te-u* appears administratively in association with *ti-no* in the Na series, that he must also be located at *ti-no* in the Ea series as well. The association of the landholder in the Ea series and *du-ni-jo ti-ni-ja-ta* in Fn 79 is attractive, but must remain at the level of possibility.

The name *du-ni-jo* also appears in the Ae series and the Eb/Ep series. In the Ae series, three named men (*ko-ro-ja-ta, ku-so-no*, and *pi-ra-jo*) do something (*su-ra-se*) to objects (*me-tu-ra*, probably livestock) of *du-ni-jo*, probably all at *i-na-ne*.[171] In the Eb/Ep set, he is identified as a servant of the

168 Hutton 1993; Palaima 2000a, p. 261.

169 Palaima 2000a, pp. 266–267; 2004a, p. 223; *pace* Bendall 2004, pp. 105–108. The scribe of Un 138 (Hand 42) includes the location of the foodstuffs, at Pylos (*pu-ro*). If the fines were paid by *du-ni-jo*, the locative would be unnecessary, but if they are with him, then there is a clear motivation for indicating their location in addition to the responsible agent.

170 Palmer 1963, p. 220.

171 The words *su-ra-se* and *me-tu-ra* appear only in these three Ae tablets (8, 72, 264) and there are no obvious Greek equivalents for either; *su-ra-se* is probably a third person singular

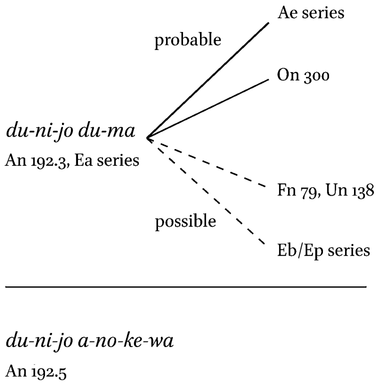


*Figure* App. 1: The prosopography of *du-ni-jo*. Drawing D. Nakassis.

god and holds a relatively small (GRA T 1) plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land on lease from the *dāmos*.

*du-ni-jo* is the most difficult prosopographical case at Pylos. There are clearly two individuals of this name, one of whom is an important official (*du-ma*). We can identify the *du-ni-jo du-ma* prosopographically with the landholder in the Ea series, as argued above. The connection of this individual to the servant of the god in the Eb/Ep series is merely a possibility (see section 4.2), as is the connection between *du-ni-jo du-ma* and the *du-ni-jo* in Fn 79 (see above). On the other hand, it is probable that the *du-ni-jo* in the Ae series is the same individual as the landholder in the Ea series (see section 4.2.2; cf. *ta-ra-ma-ta*). See Figure App. 1 for a graphic representation of the prosopography of *du-ni-jo*.

187. **du-re-u** Uncertain
Jn 845.4: certain, nominative — not preserved
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

188. **]ḍụ-ru-wo-qo**
Un 853 *v.*1: possible, uncertain case — none/not preserved
0/1/0

aorist active indicative (Aura Jorro 1993, p. 305, s.v. *su-ra-se*), while *me-tu-ra* is probably the accusative (feminine or neuter) object of *su-ra-se* (Aura Jorro 1985, p. 446, s.v. *me-tu-ra*). Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 169 suggest a connection to μίτυλος, "hornless." A connection to livestock is suggested by the title of *Philaios*, *a3-ki-pa-ta* (whose first element should be from αἴξ; Aura Jorro 1985, p. 135, s.v. *a3-ki-pa-ta*).

It is uncertain whether this is a personal name. The *verso* of Un 853 is highly fragmentary.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 189. **du-wo-jo** | Probably *Dwoios*[172] | |
| Jn 750.12: certain, nominative | *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP) | |
| du-wo-jo-jo | | |
| An 656.11: certain, genitive | *a-ke-re-wa* (HP) | |
| ḍụ[ ]jo-jo | | |
| Vn 34.9: certain, genitive | none | |
| Identification certain (An, Jn), probable (Vn) | | 1/2/1 |

*du-wo-jo*, a smith without an *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 750, is also the name of a commander of an *o-ka* unit on An 656. On their certain prosopographical identification, see section 3.1.3. The same name may appear in Vn 34, an inventory of 10 men's names in the genitive each listed against a woman's name in the nominative (or dative). On the probable prosopographical identification of the individual in Vn 34, based on the fact that one of the other men on Vn 34, *ka-e-sa-me-no*, is a *hekʷetās* who is attached to the *o-ka* of *du-wo-jo*, see section 4.7.

## E

| | |
|---|---|
| 190. **e[** | |
| Jn 750.13: certain, genitive | *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP) |

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

ẹ[ see below, s.v. *e-qo-me-ne-*[

| | |
|---|---|
| 191. **e-[** | |
| Cn 485.4: probable, nominative? | *da-we-u-pi* |

A herder of an unpreserved flock. The reading *e-ụ*[ is possible.

| | |
|---|---|
| 192. **e-[** | |
| Vn 851.5: probable, dative | none/not preserved |

[172] García Ramón 1993, p. 335.

It is uncertain whether this individual is a man or a woman. S/he appears in a list which would appear to allocate *de-mi-ni-ja* (probably beds) to various individuals.

**e-[·]-me-de** see below, s.v. *e-ke-me-de*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 193. | **e-do-mo-ne-u** | Uncertain[173] | |
| | Eo 224.3: certain, nominative | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| | Jn 389.2: certain, nominative | *a-ka-si-jo-ne* | |
| | Jn 605.2: certain, nominative | *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (HP) | |
| [e-do-mo-ne-u] | | | |
| | En 609.13: certain, nominative | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| e-do-mo-ne-we | | | |
| | Cn 925.3: certain, dative | *da-we-u-pi* | |
| Identification certain (Jn), probable (Cn, Eo/En) | | | 1/3/1 |

*e-do-mo-ne-u* is split into four individuals by Lindgren.[174] On Cn 925, he is a herder of 28 female pigs. He appears on En 609/Eo 224 as a servant of the god who holds a small (GRA T 1) plot of *ki-ti-me-na* land from *pa-ra-ko*. Both Jn tablets have *e-do-mo-ne-u* holding a *ta-ra-si-ja* (AES M 3 on Jn 389, AES M 1 N 2 on Jn 605). The prosopographical identification of the two smiths from the Jn series can be considered certain (see section 3.1.1). It is probable that this smith can be identified with the herder from Cn 925 (see sections 2.4 and 3.1.2). It is also probable that the smith and shepherd can be identified with the landholder in the Eo/En texts (see sections 3.1.10 and 3.2.6).[175]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 194. | **e-ka-no** | Ἐχάνωρ | |
| | Jn 725.2: certain, nominative | *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP) | |
| | | | 1/1/1 |

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja*. The amount is not specified, but it appears that 27 smiths share a total amount of AES L 2 M 18, an average of slightly less than M 3.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 195. | **e-ka-sa-te-[** | Uncertain | |
| | Qa 1291: probable, nominative | none | |
| | | | 1/1/1 |

173 *e-do-mo-ne-u* bears a striking similarity to Ἰδομενεύς, but there are great difficulties involved in assimilating the two to each other. On the etymology of Ἰδομενεύς, see von Kamptz 1982, pp. 124, 126, 166, 291–292, 349–350.

174 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 45.

175 One of his locations in the Jn series, *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*, is not very distant from *Sphagiānes*.

A recipient of an animal skin (**189*). The reading *e-ka-sa-te-ụ*[ is probable.

196. **ẹ-ḳẹ[**
Cn 485.7: probable, nominative or dative — *da-we-u-pi*

A herder; his flock size and composition is not preserved.

197. **e-ke-da-mo** Ἐχέδαμος
Cn 285.11: certain, nominative — *ro-u-so* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 100 male sheep.

198. **e-ke-i-ja-ta** *Enkhehiātās*
Jn 750.10: certain, nominative — *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

This smith has a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

199. ***e-ke-i-jo** *Enkhehios*
e-ke-i-jo-jo
Sa 760: certain, genitive — none
1/1/1

This individual is responsible for work on pair of serviceable chariot wheels with a border (ROTA+*TE*).

200. **e-ke-me-de** Ἐχεμήδης
An 657.6: certain, nominative — *a₂-ru-wo-te*? (HP)
Jo 438.8: certain, nominative — none
e-[·]-me-de
Un 853 *v*.1: probable, nominative — none/not preserved
Identification certain (An, Jo), tenuous (Un) — 1/2/2

*Ekhemēdēs* (or *Hekhemēdēs*) is an officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ne-da-wa-ta*; in fact, he is the first individual listed after *ne-da-wa-ta*. He also appears in Jo 438 as a contributor of gold (how much is not preserved), again adjacent to *ne-da-wa-ta*. Thus, *Ekhemēdēs* appears immediately after *ne-da-wa-ta* in both An 657 and Jo 438, texts that are closely linked to each other (see section 4.1). The prosopographical identification of this individual with the person probably listed on Un 853 is difficult, however, as the only other certain person listed on that text is *e-ke-ra₂-wo* (who appears in An 610 and An 724, rower texts associated with the *o-ka* set). The reading *e-ḳẹ-me-de* on Un 853 *v*.1 is possible. See section 4.8.

201. **e-ke-ra$_2$-wo** Probably *Enkherr'āwōn*[176]
Un 718.2: certain, nominative *sa-ra-pe-da*
e-]ke-ra$_2$[-wo
Er 880.1: certain, nominative *sa-ra-pe-da*
e-ke-ra$_2$-wo-ne
An 724.5: certain, dative *ro-o-wa* (HP)
e-ke-ra$_2$-wo-no
An 610.13: certain, genitive none
e]-ḳẹ-ra$_2$-u-na
Un 853 *v*.1: certain, dative none
e-ke-ra-ne (scribal error for *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo-ne*)
Un 219.1: certain, dative none
]ẹ-ke-ri-ja-wo
Qa 1292: probable, nominative none
Identification certain (Un 718, 853, Er), probable (Un 219, Qa 1292, An) 1/4/1

This man appears in a variety of texts at Pylos.[177] He contributes more than half of the foodstuffs on Un 718, a text that records provisions for a feast to be held in the honor of Poseidon at *sa-ra-pe-da*. He also contributes material for a feast for Poseidon in Un 853. Er 880 lists the extensive landholdings of *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo* at *sa-ra-pe-da*, which include at least 1,100 vines and 1,000 fig trees and in size are roughly equal to all the landholdings in *pa-ki-ja-ne*.[178] An 724 reveals that men associated with *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo* are absent, although they owe service in the form of rowing; An 610 lists 40 rowers against *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo*'s name in the genitive. On Un 219, he appears as a recipient of aromatics in a religious context. Qa 1292 is part of a larger set of texts which allot small numbers of animal hides (**189*) to individuals, many of whom have religious titles.

176 According to García Ramón (in prep. a) *Enkherr'āwōn* is formed from a noun *ἐγχειρία (formed from the prepositional phrase ἐν χειρί; cf. ἐπιδημία from ἐπὶ δήμῳ) meaning "undertake, attack" (cf. ἐγχειρέω). *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo* was at first wrongly understood as *Ekhe-lāwōn*, a compound of the verb ἔχω and the noun λᾱϝος (Ventris and Chadwick 1956, pp. 120, 265, 283). The sign *ra$_2$* represents *rya* or the geminate *rra* (confirmed by the spelling *ẹ-ke-ri-ja-wo*), and it was quickly realized that a compound with ἔχω and λᾱϝος could not motivate the use of this sign (Ventris and Chadwick 1973, pp. 395–396, 408, 454; see further Lejeune 1966; Leukart 1992). It has recently been suggested that *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo* is a compound of the noun ἔγχος and the verb **lawō* (cf. ἀπολαύω), yielding *Enkhellawōn* (Ruipérez and Melena 1996, p. 139; Palaima 2004a, p. 110). This interpretation has problems, however, as pointed out by García Ramón in prep. a. On the variations of spellings of the name, see Palaima 2002.

177 For reviews of the activities of *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo*, see Lejeune 1975, pp. 63–64; Chadwick 1975; de Fidio 1977, pp. 131–135; Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 153–155; Carlier 1984, pp. 56–62; Nakassis 2012a, pp. 14–17.

178 The estates in Er 880 cover GRA 94, a size comparable with entire districts under palatial

What is notable about all the attestations of this name is the fact that they all appear to be high-profile. *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo* appears immediately before the *lāwāgetās* on An 724 and **we-da-ne-u* on An 610.[179] He also appears with the *lāwāgetās* and other high-profile individuals in Un 219 (see section 4.8), the Qa series, and so on. We may identify with certainty the individual from Un 718 with that from Er 880, as the texts are closely linked by toponym (*sa-ra-pe-da*) and scribe (Hand 24). This individual is certainly the same individual who contributes foodstuffs on Un 853.[180] We may also identify the *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo* of An 610 with the man in An 724 with certainty, as they are part of the same administrative context, namely the presence or absence of rowers; this individual is probably the same man as the *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo* in the Un texts. His high-status is consistent with his appearance in the Qa series (see section 4.4).

Chadwick (followed by Lindgren, Palaima, and Nakassis) have argued that *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo* was the personal name of the *wanax* of Pylos, but this argument is not generally accepted.[181] The size and quality of his landholdings suggest that he was among the wealthiest individuals in the Pylian kingdom.

202. **]e-ke-ri-jo-na** Uncertain
Vn 851.2: certain, dative none/not preserved
1/1/1

It is uncertain whether this individual is a man or a woman. S/he appears in a list which would appear to allocate *de-mi-ni-ja* (probably beds) to various individuals.

203. **e-ke-ro** Perhaps *Ekhelos*
Jn 832.2: certain, nominative *ro-u-so* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith designated as a decorator (*a-ke-te-re, askēteres*, cf. ἀσκητής).

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management: *pa-ki-ja-na* had land totaling just over 103 units (Ed 411), *a-ke-re-wa* 94 units (Eq 213), and the Ea series may have recorded of 137 units of land (Ea 59 *verso*).

179 This fact perhaps contributed to Lindgren's identification of **we-da-ne-u* as the *lāwāgetās* (Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 134–136).

180 Killen 1999b, pp. 352–353.

181 In favor of the identification are Chadwick 1975; Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 153–155; Nakassis 2012a; Palaima 1995a, 2002. Critics include Carlier 1984, pp. 60–62; 1998; de Fidio 1977, pp. 131–135; Killen 1999b, pp. 352–353; Lejeune 1975; Palmer 1963, p. 216; Petrakis 2008; Wundsam 1968, pp. 77–79.

204. **e-ke-si-jo** Perhaps *Enkhesios*
Cn 4.8: certain, dative *wo-tu-wa-ne* (FP)
1/1/1

A man listed against a deficit of nine sheep.

205. **e-ḳị-no** Ἐχῖνος[182]
e-ḳị-no-jo
An 661.1: certain, dative none
1/1/1

The commander of a military unit (*o-ka*).

206. **e-ki-wo** Perhaps *Ekhiwos or Ekhiwōn*[183]
Jn 320.2: certain, nominative *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-ụ*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4.

207. ***e-ko-me-na-ta*** *Erkhomenatās*
e-ko-me-na-ta-o
Aq 218.11: certain, genitive none
e-ko-ṃẹ-na-ta-o
An 661.9: certain, genitive *ti-mi-to-a-ko* (FP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This individual is the commander of a military unit (*o-ka*) located at *ti-mi-to-a-ko* on An 661. He is also listed on Aq 218, a tablet with extensive points of contact with the *o-ka* texts (see section 4.1). On Aq 218, his name appears in an entry that reads ]*ka-re-u , e-ko-me-na-ta-o , *34-te*. Based on the other entries, ]*ka-re-u* should be a personal name, while *e-ko-me-na-ta-o , *34-te* should provide some additional information. In other entries, this second slot is filled by a patronymic or ethnic. This encouraged Lindgren to suggest that **34-te* be interpreted as *pra-te*, "brother" (cf. φράτηρ).[184] However, sign **34* appears to represent *$ai_2$*,[185] and therefore represents another noun ending in the agentive suffix *-tēr*.

[182] Neumann 1995, p. 157.
[183] Aura Jorro 1985, p. 213, s.v. *e-ki-wo*.
[184] Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 162–163.
[185] Melena 2000, pp. 10–19; forthcoming.

208. **e-ko-to** Ἕκτωρ
Eb 913.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
En 74.7: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
En 74.17: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 247.2: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 276.6: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 212.3: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 705.8: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

*Hektōr* is listed as a landholder in multiple texts. He is a servant of the god who holds *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* on Eb 913/Ep 212 (GRA T 1 V 3) and Ep 705 (GRA T 2). He also holds *ki-ti-me-na* land from *ru-*83* on En 74/Eo 276 (GRA V 3) and from *a₃-ti-jo-qo* on En 74/Eo 247 (GRA T 1). On identification, see section 4.2.

209. **e-ko-to-ri-jo** *Hektorios* (cf. Ἕκτωρ)
Cn 45.3: certain, dative *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo* (FP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 30 or more female sheep, with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector."

210. **e-ne-ti-jo** *Ernestios*
Cn 45.10: certain, dative *pa-na-pi* (FP)
1/1/1

A herder with a flock of 34 female goats, with *a-ko-so-ta* as his "collector."

211. **e-ni-ja-u-si-jo** *Eniausios*
An 39 *v*.7: certain, nominative or dative none
1/1/1

This man appears in a personnel register.

212. **e-ni-to-wo** Perhaps *Enithowos*[186]
Eb 1187.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 539.10: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is a servant (*do-e-ro*) of *Amphimēdēs* and holds a lease of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* (GRA T 1).

[186] García Ramón 2000b, p. 208.

213. **e-no-wa-ro** Uncertain
An 654.14: probable, nominative none[187]
0/1/1

Probably an officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ta-ti-qo-we-wo*.

214. **e-nwa-ri-jo** Ἐνυάλιος
An 724.12: doubtful, dative? *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
0/1/0

This word appears in a document accounting for missing rowers. The presence of the VIR ideogram immediately following the name *e-nwa-ri-jo* has encouraged some to interpret it as a personal name.[188] I think that this word is the theonym *Enualios*, based on two facts: first, we have no other instance of a human name which is the same as a theonym,[189] and second, he is associated with the term *e-to-ni-jo*, a highly priviledged landholding held only by the "collector" *Amphimēdēs* and perhaps the priestess *Erithā*. The latter of these two claims to hold her *e-to-ni-jo* "for the god" (Ep 704.5–6/Eb 297), a phrase that encourages us to read *e-nwa-ri-jo* as a dative theonym in a parallel construction.

215. **e-o-te-u** *Heorteus* (cf. Ἑόρτιος)[190]
An 661.1: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

An officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *e-ki-no*.

216. **e-pa-re** Uncertain
An 723.3: certain, nominative *ra-wa-ra-ta* (FP)
1/1/1

This individual appears in a list of *e-re-e-we* (a title of uncertain meaning).[191]

187 Lang (1990, p. 121) takes *wa-wo-u-de* (An 654.15) as an allative.
188 Aura Jorro 1985, p. 221, s.v. *e-nwa-ri-jo*.
189 Written *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* on KN V 52.2. The variation in spelling is not an obstacle, since *nu-wa* does alternate with *nwa* (e.g., *pe-ri-si-nwa* alternates with *pe-ri-si-nu-wa*, *qa-nwa-so* with *qa-nu-wa-so*, and *a-mi-nu-wa-ta* with *a-mi-nwa-*[*ta*?]). For some doubtful homonyms with theonyms, see Ilievski 1999, p. 309.
190 Neumann 1995, p. 155.
191 See Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 239–240, s.v. *e-re-e-u*.

217. **e-pa-sa-na-ti** Uncertain
En 74.13: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 212.5: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
i-pa-sa-na-ti
Eo 247.4: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
i-pa-sa-na-ti[
Eb 1345.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This woman is a landowner identified as a servant of the god (*te-o-jo do-e-ra*). She holds a lease of *ki-ti-me-na* land from *$a_3$-ti-jo-qo* (GRA T 2, En 74/Eo 247) and of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* (GRA T 3, Ep 212/Eb 1345). Scribal Hand 41 writes *i-pa-sa-na-ti* in the Eb and Eo texts, whereas Hand 1 writes *e-pa-sa-na-ti* on the page-shaped Ep tablets.[192] On identification, see section 4.2.

218. **e-pa-ta[**
Jn 927.6: certain, nominative ]*me-no*?
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja*; the amount is not preserved.

219. **e-pe-ke-u** *Epeigeus*[193]
Jn 431.12: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

220. **e-pi-ja-ta** *Epihaltās* (cf. Ἐφιάλτης)[194]
An 31.2: certain, nominative none/not preserved
1/1/1

This man appears in a list of men with no preserved header.

221. **e-pi-ta-jo** Perhaps *Episthaios*
Jn 927.12: certain, nominative ]*me-no*
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

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192 On Eo 247.4, Hand 41 writes the first sign (*i*) over an unerased *e*. Presumably he began to write *e-pa-sa-na-ti* but corrected it to *i-pa-sa-na-ti*.

193 Neumann 1995, p. 135.

194 See von Kamptz 1982, p. 77.

222. ***e-pi-wo-qa-ta** Uncertain
e-pi-wo-qa-ta-o
Sa 1266: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

This individual is responsible for work on one pair of serviceable chariot wheels with a border (*te-mi-de-we-te*).

223. **e-po-me-ne-u** Perhaps *Hepomeneus*
e-po-me-ne-ụ
Nn 831.8: certain, nominative perhaps *ko-ri*[*-to*
e-po-me-ne-we
Na 1357.2: certain, dative none
Vn 851.6: certain, dative none
Identification probable (Na, Nn), tenuous (Vn) 1/3/2

This man appears on a distribution list of *de-mi-ni-ja* (probably beds) on Vn 851; he also pays four units of flax on Nn 831, and on Na 1357 he is excused (*e-re-u-te-ra*) from payments of flax. There is good reason to make prosopographical identifications between names from the Na and Nn texts, as they appear in the same administrative context. Another individual, *e-re-e-u*, also appears on Nn 831 as a contributor and is excused from payment of 10 units of flax (Na 262). There is no particular reason to connect this individual with the man from the Vn series (see section 4.7).

224. **e-qa**[
Cn 436.8: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

A herder; the size and composition of his flock is not preserved.

**e-qo-**[ see *e-qo-me-ne-*[

225. **e-qo-me-ne-**[ Perhaps *Hepomenēs*[195]
Fr 1338.1: possible, dative? none/not preserved
ẹ[
Fr 1245: possible, dative? none/not preserved
e-qo-[
Fr 1240.2: possible, dative? (e-qo-ṃẹ[ possible) none/not preserved
Identification probable 0/3/1

[195] See Chadwick 1998, p. 301.

This is a man's name which in the nominative ends in *-menēs*; he appears to be a dative recipient in the Fr series (if so, it should be reconstructed as *e-qo-me-ne-i* in all three attestations).[196] This is probably the same individual; despite the fragmentary nature of the words as preserved, all three appear as recipients in the Fr series. Moreover, this is the only word in Linear B that begins with *e-qo-* other than the participle *e-qo-te* (*hekʷontes*).

226. **e-ra-ta-ra** Uncertain
Eo 224.6: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
[e-ra-ta-ra]
En 609.16: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
1/1/1

This woman holds an *o-na-to* of *ki-ti-me-na* land from *a-ma-ru-ta* of GRA T 1 V 3. She is designated as the servant (*do-e-ra*) of the priestess of *pa-ki-ja-ne* (i.e., of *e-ri-ta*).

227. **e-re-[**
Jo 438.3: possible, nominative — none

This word is possibly a toponym (*e-re-e*), but it could also be the beginning of a name of an individual who contributes N 1 of gold.

228. **e-re-e-u** *Heleheus*[197]
Nn 831.4: certain, nominative — perhaps *ko-ri*[*-to*
e-re-e-we
An 723.1: doubtful, dative (or nominative plural?) — none
Cn 1197.5: certain, dative — *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
Jn 881.1: doubtful, dative (or nominative plural?) — none/not preserved
e-re-e-wo
Na 262.B: certain, genitive — *po-to-ro-wa-pi* (FP)
Identification certain (Na, Nn, Cn), tenuous if names (An, Jn) 1/3/1

The occurrences of *e-re-e-u* are not clear-cut, particularly because the word may not be a personal name in all cases. On An 723, the word occurs as *e-re-e-we* in the first line, in the text's header. On analogy with An 209 (same scribal

196 Shelmerdine 1985, p. 83.

197 Perhaps from the toponym *Helos*, the nominative of (the dative-locative) *e-re-e*, one of the seven centers of the FP. Killen (2007d; 2012, pp. 179–180) suggests that it is a title formed from *helos* (cf. ἕλος), and indicates an official who supervises marshland.

hand, same stylus), it should be a nominative plural designation modifying the individuals named below, although it is not impossible that this is a personal name (dative) and the men listed below are put under his supervision (with an implied *pa-ro*). It seems clear that its occurrence on Jn 881 should not be interpreted as a man's name.[198] Since *e-re-e-u* is plausibly an ethnic referring to the toponym *Helos*, we can argue that it is probably an adjective in Jn 881.1 (indicating the location of the plural *o-pi-ko-wo*) and in An 723.1.[199]

It is nearly certain that the other occurences of this word are personal names, and represent a single individual (see section 3.2.4).[200] On Na 262, he is exempted from paying 10 units of flax at *po-to-ro-wa-pi*, and he contributes two units of flax on Nn 831. On Cn 1197, he is listed against an unpreserved number of sheep at *a-si-ja-ti-ja*. The landholder in the Na and Nn tablets may be identified with the contributor of sheep, based on his association with *e-sa-re-u*, who appears in the Na series and with whom *e-re-e-u* is paired on Cn 1197.

229. **e-re-u-ta** Uncertain
An 31.3: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This individual appears in a fragmentary personnel register; the header is not preserved.

230. **e-ri-[**
Fn 837.3: probable, dative none

A recipient of an unpreserved amount of grain (HORD).

231. **e-ri-ka-we-e** Uncertain[201]
Un 1319.3: possible, dative? none
0/1/0

This text appears to record grain (GRA), perhaps of different types.[202] None of the terms on the text can be identified with certainty.

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198 Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 49, summarizing the argument of Ruipérez 1963. See too Palaima 1991, pp. 301–304.

199 Killen 1995b, p. 113 and n. 15.

200 It may be possible to restore *e-*]*ṛẹ-ẹ-ẉọ* on Cr 591.2, which would then be the genitive singular of *e-re-e-u*, listed against three deer.

201 Possible interpretations are reviewed by García Ramón 2012, p. 120.

202 Palmer 1994, p. 87 n. 2.

232. **e-ri-ko-wo** Probably *Erigowos*[203]
An 656.2: certain, nominative *ne-wo-ki-to* (HP)
Ep 212.2: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Jn 845.7: certain, nominative not preserved
e-ri-ko-ẉọ[
Jn 927.11: certain, nominative ]*ṃẹ-no*?
Identification certain (Jn), probable (An), possible (Ep) 1/3/2

*e-ri-ko-wo* occurs four times in the tablets, and is split into four individuals by Lindgren.[204] He appears twice in the Jn series, once as a *g*$^{w}$*asileus* (Jn 845), and once as a smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* (Jn 927). On An 656, he is an officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *wa-pa-ro*. On Ep 212 (no corresponding Eb tablet is preserved), *e-ri-ko-wo* is a holder of *ke-ke-me-na* land (GRA V 3), and is a servant of the god. On the prosopographical identification of the two names in the Jn series, see section 3.1.1. The smith is probably the same person who appears in the *o-ka* set (see section 3.1.3). Identifying the smith/military officer with the landholder is less certain (see section 3.1.10), although *ne-wo-ki-to* are *pa-ki-ja-ne* are probably fairly proximate.

233. **e-ri-ma-si-jọ** Uncertain
Pa 49: certain, dative none
1/1/1

An individual with (*pa-ro*) at least 10 of **169* (probably beds), probably in the context of their production, collection, or storage.

234. **e-ri-qi-ja** *Erig*$^{w}$*iā*[205]
Ep 539.2: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
ẹ-ri-qi[-ja
Eb 1440.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This woman is a servant of the god and holds a lease of *ke-ke-me-na* land of unpreserved size.

235. **e-ri-qi-jo** Perhaps *Erig*$^{w}$*ios*[206]
Ea 480: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

203 García Ramón 2008; see too García Ramón 2012, pp. 113–116.
204 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 50.
205 García Ramón 2008, pp. 36–37.
206 García Ramón 2008, pp. 36–37; 2012, pp. 116–117.

This individual holds a lease of *ke-ke-me-na* land of GRA T 2.

236. **e-ri-ta** Probably *Erithā*[207]
Ep 704.3: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 704.5: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
i-je-re-ja
Eb 297.1: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
i-je-re-ja , pa-ki-ja-na
Eb 339.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 224.8: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
[i-je-re-ja , pa-ki-ja-na]
En 609.18: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This woman is the priestess of *Sphagiānes*, as shown by the fact that Eb 339 (*i-je-re-ja , pa-ki-ja-na*) corresponds to Ep 704.3 (*e-ri-ta , i-je-re-ja*). She has a servant, *e-ri-qi-ja* (see above). *Erithā* holds a lease GRA T 4 of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* (Eb 297/Ep 704) and a lease of GRA T 3 of *ki-ti-me-na* land from *a-ma-ru-ta* (Eo 224/En 609). She is also the subject of an important debate recorded on Ep 704 (see section 5.4): "*Erithā* the priestess has, and claims to have, an *etonion* for the god, but the *dāmos* says that she has a lease of *ke-ke-me-na* lands, so much seed GRA 374.4 liters."[208] On the corresponding Eb 297, there are several differences: her name is ommitted (she is just "the priestess"), the dissenting party is not the *dāmos*, but the plot-holders (*ko-to-no-o-ko, ktoinohokhoi*), she has not one lease (*o-na-to*) but many (*o-na-ta* is neuter plural) and the size of her holding is more specific (GRA 3 T 9 V 3 = 379.2 liters of seed grain). The prosopographical identification is certain because of the similar contexts (landholding in *Sphagiānes*) and her exclusive association with a specific title (see section 4.2).

237. **e-ri-we-ro** *Eriwēros*[209]
Vn 130.9: certain, dative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
]e-ri-we-ro
Un 1320.7: certain, dative none/not preserved
Identification possible 1/2/2

207 Ilievski 1996, p. 56; Neumann 2000, p. 186 n. 12. García Ramón 2012, p. 117, interprets it as a hypocoristic of *Erithaleia* (cf. ἐριθαλής), although he does not exclude *Eritā*, a hypocoristic of *Eritimā*.

208 It is possible that *te-o* is accusative, but word order suggests a dative; why put the accusative subject of the infinitive *after* the infinitive in both texts? See Hill 2002, pp. 11–12 and n. 3.

209 Neumann 1995, p. 152; García Ramón 2012, p. 118.

On Vn 130, there are three vessels with this man at *Sphagiānes*; on Un 1320, there are the same number (three) of "*A*" with him at an unpreserved location. For the possibility of prosopographical identification, see section 2.4.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 238. | **e-ro$_2$-qo** | Perhaps *Errōk$^w$s*[210] | |
| | Ea 29: certain, nominative | | none |
| | Ea 325: certain, nominative | | none |
| | Ea 813: certain, nominative | | none |
| Identification certain | | | 1/1/1 |

This individual holds three different land leases in the Ea series: (1) on Ea 29, he is called a sewer (*ra-pte, raptēr*, cf. ῥάπτης) and holds a lease of GRA T 1 from *i-ma-di-jo*; (2) on Ea 325 only his name and profession (*ra-pte* again) are preserved, and (3) on Ea 813, he is called a sewer (*ra-pte*) who holds a lease of GRA T 1 of the honey man (*me-ri-te-wo, melitēwos*, genitive of *meliteus*), whose name is **ku-ru-no*. The consistency in title and context make prosopographical identification certain.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 239. | **e-ru-si-jo** | Uncertain | |
| | Vn 130.3: certain, dative | | *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (HP) |
| | | | 1/1/1 |

There is one vessel (*a-ke-a$_2$*) with *e-ru-si-jo* at *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 240. | **]e-ru-ta-jo** | Uncertain | |
| | Jn 725.16: certain, nominative | | ]*-nu-we-jo*? |
| | | | 1/1/1 |

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 241. | **e-ru-ta-ra** | *Eruthrās* | |
| | An 654.2: certain, nominative | | HP (*me-ta-pa*?)[211] |
| | Aq 64.16: certain, case uncertain | | *me-ta-pa* (HP) |
| Identification certain | | | 1/1/1 |

This individual is an officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ku-ru-me-no*; no place-name for the headquarters of the *o-ka* is given, but the first group of men with the *o-ka* is from *me-ta-pa*. On Aq 64, *e-ru-ta-ra* appears in a

210 García Ramón 2012, pp. 118–119.
211 See Lang 1990, p. 121.

landholding context. The Aq diptych is closely linked to the *o-ka* set (see section 4.1), so we can therefore be sure that the same individual is meant in both texts.

However, while most entries on Aq 64 have one or two personal names, the entry with *e-ru-ta-ra* appears to have three personal names and a toponym:

.16 me-wi , e-ru-ta-ra , me-ta-pa , ki-e-wo , to-to-we-to , o-a-ke-re-se *ZE* 1 [**171*

This is problematic. We expect a nominative name as the subject of the verb (*-a-ke-re-se*), perhaps with some indication of kin relations (cf. Aq 64.7, Aq 64.15). One solution, proposed by Ventris and Chadwick, is to read *me-wi* as a mistake for *me-wi-jo*, take *e-ru-ta-ra* as nominative and read "*Eruthrās* the younger, at *me-ta-pa*, [son] of *ki-e-u* …"[212] Another possibility is to take *e-ru-ta-ra* as dative and translate "*me-wi*, for *Eruthrās* at *me-ta-pa*, [son] of *ki-e-u* …" This interpretation is possible because it seems that a number of the individuals listed in the nominative on this text are linked to individuals in the *o-ka* set (e.g., *ne-qe-u* in the entry above is the brother of the *hekʷetās Alektruōn*, *po-so-ri-jo* is the son of *pe-ri-me-de*, an *o-ka* officer).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 242. **e-sa-re-u** | Uncertain | |
| Na 195.B: probable, nominative | | *sa-ma-ri-wa* (FP?) |
| Na 568.A: probable, nominative | | *]wa* |
| ẹ-sa-re-u | | |
| Na 395.B: probable, nominative | | not preserved |
| e-sa-re-we | | |
| Cn 1197.4: certain, dative | | *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP) |
| Identification certain | | 1/1/1 |

It is possible that *e-sa-re-u* is not a personal name. In each of the Na texts where this word appears, it refers to an individual called *ke-u-po-da e-sa-re-u*, and opinions differ as to which of these two words is a personal name and which is an appellative. Killen has argued, *contra* Lindgren, that *ke-u-po-da* is a personal name and *e-sa-re-u* a title.[213] Which of the two is actually the personal name does not affect the prosopographical analysis, however, since the two terms are virtually synonyms. The only instance at Pylos where one of the two appears without the other is Cn 1197, which records small

[212] Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 176. This hypothesized application of *me-wi-jo* to describe an individual is without parallel.

[213] Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 79–80; Killen 1995b, pp. 109–114.

numbers of male sheep at *a-si-ja-ti-ja* in the Further Province. Since the entry immediately following *e-sa-re-u* (namely *e-re-e-u*) also appears in the Na series, where only twelve personal names appear, we may view the prosopographical identification of *ke-u-po-da e-sa-re-u* in the Na series with *e-sa-re-u* in Cn 1197 as certain (see section 3.2.4).[214]

243. **e-sa-ro** Uncertain
Eo 224.4: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 705.4: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
[e-sa-ro]
En 609.14: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This individual appears as a servant of the god in two separate landholdings in *Sphagiānes* (see section 4.2). On Eo 224, he holds a lease of *ki-ti-me-na* land from *a-ma-ru-ta* (GRA V 3); on Ep 705, *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* (GRA V 2).

244. **e-se-re-a$_2$** Uncertain
An 661.2: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This individual is an officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *e-ki-no*.

245. **e-ta-je-u** Probably *Etaieus*
An 5.1: certain, nominative *te-ko-to-a-pe* (FP)
1/1/1

This man appears in a simple list of personal names with associated toponyms.

246. **e-ta-wo-jo** Uncertain
Cn 491.6: probable, nominative not preserved
0/1/1

This individual is responsible for 12 animals, but with no logogram; the previous entry is a flock of female goats, and it is possible that the ideogram was omitted from *e-ta-wo-jo*'s entry because the ideogram from the previous entry was meant to be understood.

[214] This prosopographical identification need not affect the argument of Killen (1995b, pp. 109–114) that *e-sa-re-u* is a title.

247. **e-ta-wo-ne-u** *Etāwōneus* (cf. Ἐτεωνεύς)[215]
Aq 64.13: certain, nominative none
ẹ-ṭạ-wo-ne-ụ[
An 519.7: certain, nominative none (see below)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is an officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ke-wo-no* on An 519. There is no toponym listed for this unit; the location of *e-ta-wo-ne-u* may be understood from the location of the troops (*a-pi-te-wa*). On Aq 64, *e-ta-wo-ne-u* is one of four men "having a plot of land" (*ko-to-na e-ko-te*) who receives a pair (*ZE*) and **171* (an unknown commodity). The connections between Aq 64 and Aq 218 and the *o-ka* texts are well-known and secure (see section 4.1).[216]

248. **e-te-re-ro** Uncertain
e-te-re-ṛọ
Cn 600.4: certain, nominative *o-re-e-wo wo-wo* (FP)
[•]-te-re-ro
Jn 415.10: certain, nominative *ru-ko-a$_2$-ke-re-u-te*
Identification probable 1/2/1

This individual appears as a shepherd of 90 male sheep on Cn 600. Almost certainly the same name appears on Jn 415 for a smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*. The reading *ẹ-te-re-ro* on Jn 415 is probable; traces of *e-* are visible in the break. For identification, see 3.1.2.

249. **e-te-ṛẹ-ụ[** Uncertain
An 435.2: certain, nominative none
0/1/1

Perhaps the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*. The possible idendification with *e-te-re-ro* (based on the possible reading of *e-te-ṛẹ-ṛọ*[ ])[217] is very tenuous. It is more likely than not that this is another individual with a different name.

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215 See too Leukart 1994, p. 242.
216 It is worth noting that at Knossos there are weavers identified as "of *e-ta-wo-ne-u*" (*e-ta-wo-ne-wo*). Is *e-ta-wo-ne-u* therefore another name belonging to the "international collectors" identified by Killen (1979b, p. 162)? Other such names also have connections to the *o-ka* set: *a-da-ra-ti-jo, da-mi-ni-jo, ḍị-ko-na-ro, e-se-re-a$_2$, ko-ma-we, ku-ru-me-no* (see Olivier 2001).
217 Melena 1995b, p. 314.

250. ***e-te-u** Uncertain
e-te-we
Cn 925.2: certain, dative *da-we-u-pi*
1/1/1

A herder of 19 sows.

251. **e-te-wa** *Hetew(w)ās* (cf. Ἐτέας)[218]
An 657.3: certain, nominative *o-wi-to-no* (HP)
1/1/1

An officer of the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ma-re-u*.

252. **e-te-wa-jo** *Hetew(w)aios* (cf. Ἐτέας)[219]
Sa 1267: certain, nominative (for genitive) none
Xa 639: certain, nominative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
e-te-wa-jọ
Cn 600.12: certain, nominative *ti-mi-to-a-ko* (FP)
e-te-wa-jo-jo
Sa 769: certain, genitive none
e-te-wa[
Cn 254.3: certain, probably dative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
Identification probable (Cn, Xa, Sa) 1/3/1

This name appears twice as a herder: he has 30 female goats on Cn 600 and 100 (probably male) sheep on Cn 254. On Sa 769 and 1267, he is responsible for work on two pairs of serviceable chariot wheels with a border (ROTA+*TE*). Finally, on Xa 539, he appears in the simple entry *a-si-ja-ti-ja e-te-wa-jo o*[. The *o* might be the logographic abbreviation for "deficit" (*o-pe-ro*). The overlap in toponym in Cn 254 and Xa 639 is compelling grounds for prosopographical identification.[220] The herders are certainly the same person (see section 3.2.1), and we may identify the herder with the individual from the Sa series with probability (see section 3.2.5).

253. **e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo** *Etewoklewehios* (cf. Ἐτεοκλῆς)[221]
Aq 64.15: certain, patronymic
e-te-wo-ke-re-re-we , i-jo
An 654.8–9: certain, patronymic

218 Leukart 1994, pp. 217–218 and n. 227.
219 Formally this name is a patronymic of *e-te-wa*: Leukart 1994, pp. 217 nn. 226, 300.
220 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 53.
221 Leukart 1994, pp. 217–218 n. 227; Neumann 1995, p. 146.

This patronymic modifies the *hekʷetās Alektruōn* (*a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo*) on An 654, and *Neikʷheus* (*ne-qe-u*) on Aq 64. The same father is doubtless meant in both instances, as there are many connections between Aq 64 and *o-ka* set (see section 4.1).

254. **e-ti-je-ja** Uncertain
Vn 851.10: certain, dative none/not preserved
1/1/1

A woman allocated one unit of *de-mi-ni-ja* (probably beds).

255. ***e-ti-me-de** *Ertimēdēs* or *Etimēdēs*[222]
e-ti-me-de-i
Fn 324.1: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A receipient of a relatively large amount of grain (HORD T 2 V 3, or 24 liters).

256. **e-ti-ra-wo** *Ertilāwos* (cf. Ὀρσίλαος, Λαέρτης)[223]
Cn 131.10: certain, dative *ma-ro* (HP)
Cn 655.9: certain, nominative *ma-ro* (HP)
e-ti-ra-wo-jo
Sa 1264: certain, genitive none
Identification certain (Cn), probable (Sa) 1/2/1

On Cn 131, a shepherd of 100 male sheep; on Cn 655, a shepherd of 95 old (*pa-ra-jo*) male sheep. These two shepherds are certainly the same individual (see section 3.1.1). On Sa 1264, he is responsible for work on a pair of serviceable chariot wheels with a border (ROTA+*TE*). On the probable prosopographical identification of the shepherd with the man from the Sa series, see section 3.2.5.

257. **e-ti-ri-ja** Possibly *Esthliā*(*s*)[224]
Vn 851.9: certain, dative none/not preserved
1/1/1

This individual is allocated one unit of *de-mi-ni-ja*, probably beds.

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222 Ruijgh 1967, p. 254; Leukart 1994, p. 37 n. 27.
223 Leukart 1994, p. 90; García Ramón 1999, pp. 430–431.
224 Ruijgh 1967, pp. 149 and n. 258, 163.

258. **e-ti-wa-ị[**
Wr 1359.β: possible, case uncertain none/not preserved
0/1/0

This word appears on a sealing with the wine ideogram, found in the wine magazine (Room 105). The reading *e-ti-wa-ṇọ[* is possible but less likely. It may or may not be a personal name.

259. **e-ti-wa-jo** Uncertain[225]
Va 15 *v.*: probable, case uncertain *pu-ro* (HP)
0/1/1

This text on which this word appears is difficult to interpret, and the identification of *e-ti-wa-jo* as a personal name is not certain. *e-ti-wa-jo* may be modified by the term **35-ka-te-re*.[226]

260. ***e-to-mo** Perhaps *Hetoimos*
e-to-mo-jo
Vn 34.3: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

This individual is listed in the genitive against the woman's name *o*-[·]-*o-wa* (probably in the nominative).

261. **]e-u**
Cn 491.2: probable, nominative not preserved

A shepherd with 40 or more female sheep.

262. **e-u-do-no** Perhaps *E(h)udonos*
Jn 310.4: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

263. **e-u-ka-no** Εὐχάνωρ
Un 1320.8: certain, dative none/not preserved
1/1/1

225 Perhaps an ethnic, from the place-name *e-ti-wa*. Ruijgh 1967, p. 226; see Leukart 1994, pp. 112–113, on *e-ti-wa*.

226 Ruijgh 1981. In that case this man might be one member of the **34-ke-te-si* in the Es series; the unattested nominative singular of dative plural **34-ke-te-si* would be **34-ke-te*, with a *-tēr* agentive suffix (Aura Jorro 1993, p. 465, s.v. **35-ka-te-re*).

Two units of *A* (an unknown commodity) are in the possession of this man.

264. **e-u-ka-ro** *E(h)ukālos*
An 723.2: certain, nominative *a-ri-qo*
Jn 750.4: certain, nominative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
Identification probable 1/2/1

A smith alloted AES M 1 N 2 on Jn 750, *e-u-ka-ro* also appears on the brief (two-entry) personnel register An 723, where he appears to be identified as an *e-re-e-u* (cf. the format of An 209), probably an ethnic which is attested only here and on Jn 881. Prosopographical identification is probable, based on the recurrence of *e-re-e-u* in bronze contexts. If *a-ri-qo* is near *ra-wa-ra-ta*, the only other toponym of An 723, then both instances of this name are geographically proximate.

265. **e-u-ko-me-no** *Eukhomenos*
Jn 725.23: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

This smith shares AES M 12 with three other men at *a-ke-re-wa* on Jn 725.

266. **e-u-me-de** Εὐμήδης
Ea 773: certain, nominative none
Ea 812: certain, nominative none
Ea 820: certain, nominative none
e-u-me-de-i
Fr 1184.2: certain, dative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

*E(h)umēdēs* holds three plots of land in the Ea series. On Ea 773, he is identified only by his name and holds an plot of GRA T 2 from the *dāmos*, while on the other two texts he is identified as an unguent-boiler (*a-re-po-zo-o*). On Ea 812 he holds a *ko-to-na* of GRA 1 T 8, on Ea 820 he holds an *onāton* of the honey-man (*meliteus*, whose name is **ku-ru-no*) of GRA ⟦ ⟧ T 1. On Fr 1184, *E(h)umēdēs* is the recipient of 18 units of olive oil (518.4 liters) from *ko-ka-ro*, who is also described elsewhere as an unguent-boiler (Fg 374).[227] The semantic connection between his title and his activity on Fr 1184 secures

[227] See Shelmerdine 1985, pp. 24–25; Killen 2001a, pp. 179–180, for a translation and discussion of Fr 1184.

the prosopographical identification of *E*(*h*)*umēdēs* (and *ko-ka-ro*).[228] Multiple plots of land are common in the Ea series, so there is no reason to separate the individual from Ea 773 with the other instances of this name. See further section 4.2.2.

267. **e-u-me-ne** Εὐμένης
Ea 757: certain, nominative none
Ea 822: certain, nominative none
]e-u-me-ne
Jn 725.15: certain, nominative ]-*nu-we-jo*?
Identification probable 1/2/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 3 (Jn 725), *e-u-me-ne* also appears on two Ea tablets. The *e-u-me-ne* on Ea 757 appears holding *ke-ke-me-na* land of the *lāwāgesian* swineherd (GRA T 2). On Ea 822, he has an *o-na-to* from (*pa-ro*) the *lāwāgesian* swineherd.[229] See section 3.1.10.

268. **e-u-po-ro-wo** *E*(*h*)*uplowos* (cf. Εὔπλους)
Jn 601.2: certain, nominative *po-wi-te-ja*
Jn 693.8: certain, nominative *a-pu*$_2$ (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 8 on Jn 601 and AES M 4 on Jn 693. On prosopographical identification, see section 3.1.1.

269. **e-u-qo-ne** Uncertain
Vn 130.13: certain, dative *me-te-to* (HP)
1/1/1

There are three vessels (*a-ke-a*$_2$) with *e-u-qo-ne* on Vn 130.

270. **e-u-ṛọ-ṭọ-qo** Uncertain
Jn 478.10: certain, nominative *wi-ja-we-ra*$_2$ (HP)
1/1/1

An *a-ta-ra-si-jo* smith.

271. ***ẹ-ụ-ru-po-to-re-mo** Εὐρυπτόλεμος
ẹ-ụ-ru-po-to-re-mo-jo
Fn 324. 26: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

[228] Killen 2001a, p. 170.
[229] Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 139.

This individual is the owner of servants who are allocated grain (HORD T 1).

272. **e-u-ru-wo-ta** Perhaps *Euruwortās*[230]
Jn 310.4: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
e-u-ru-wo-ṭạ
Eb 156.1: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
e-u-]ru-wo-ta
Ep 613.9: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification possible 1/2/2

*e-u-ru-wo-ta* is a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2 on Jn 310. He also appears on landholding tablets as a servant of the god and a *ka-ma-e-u* with a large *o-na-to* plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land (GRA 1 T 3). *pa-ki-ja-ne* and *a-ke-re-wa* are fairly close to each other. For the likelihood of prosopographical identification, see section 3.1.10.

273. **e-u-wa-ko-ro** Uncertain[231]
Jn 431.23: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

An *a-ta-ra-si-jo* Potnian smith.

274. **e-u-wa-re** *E(h)uwārēs*
Jn 693.2: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4.

275. **e-u-we-to** *E(h)uwētōr*[232]
Jn 750.9: certain, nominative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
e-u-we-to-ro
Jn 750.13: certain, genitive *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man appears twice on the same Jn text, once with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2 and again as the owner of a single servant (the servant appears to be listed as *a-ta-ra-si-jo*). See section 3.1.1.

230 Leukart 1994, p. 93.
231 Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 265–266, s.v. *e-u-wa-ko-ro*. Cf. Εὔαγρος; see Bechtel [1917] 1964, p. 20.
232 Leukart 1994, p. 280 n. 367.

276. **]e-we-za-no** Uncertain
An 1281.7: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man is allocated to *mi-jo-qa* on An 1281 in a craft context and is probably one of her servants on Fn 50 and 837.

277. **e-wi-te-u** Uncertain
e-wi-ṭẹ[-u
Jn 832.10: certain, nominative *a-to-mo*?
[ ]e-wi-te-u
Cn 437.5: certain, dative *]ẉọ-wo*
e-wi-te-we
Cn 40.14: certain, dative *a-te-re-wi-ja* (FP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

*e-wi-te-u*, a smith designated as a decorator (*a-ḳẹ-te* for *a-ke-te-re, askēteres*, cf. ἀσκητής) on Jn 832, also appears on two Cn texts. On Cn 40, he has a flock of 70 female sheep with *a-ke-o* as his "collector." On Cn 437 he has a flock of 50 male sheep. On identification, see section 3.1.2.

278. **]ẹ-wo-ta-o**
Cn 314.1: certain, nominative/dative? not preserved
0/1/1

This shepherd has a flock of uncertain type and number. The signs could be consistent with a known name in the genitive, but a name in the genitive would be unexpected in a Cn text, especially as the first word in the entry (which is where the name of the herder is written),[233] and it is therefore more likely that this is a nominative or dative of an otherwise unattested herder's name. The reading *]p̣ị-wo-ta-o[* is less likely.

279. **e-zo-wo** Uncertain
Cn 40.11: certain, dative *re-pe-u-ri-jo* (HP)
Cn 599.7: certain, dative *$a_2$-pa-tu-wo-te* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

On Cn 40, this individual has a flock of 82 male sheep with *a-ko-so-ta* as his "collector." On Cn 599, he has a herd of 30 female pigs. The first shepherd listed on Cn 40 is the same man as the first entry on Cn 599 (*ne-ti-ja-no*), and

233 This name is the first word in the second line of the tablet.

both toponyms are in the vicinity of *pi-*82*.[234] Prosopographical identification is therefore certain; see further section 3.2.1.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 280. | **e-*65-to** | Uncertain | |
| | En 609.7: certain, nominative | | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) |
| | En 74.9: certain, nominative | | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) |
| | Eo 211.4: certain, nominative | | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) |
| | Eo 276.8: certain, nominative | | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) |
| Identification certain | | | 1/1/1 |

This individual is twice listed as a landholding servant of the god. On En 609/Eo 211, he holds a *ki-ti-me-na* plot from *wa-na-ta-jo* of GRA T 2. On En 74/Eo 276, he holds a *ki-ti-me-na* plot from *ru-*83* of GRA V 1. On prosopographical identification, see section 4.2.

## I

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 281. | **i[** | | |
| | Ea 827: probable, dative | | none |

*ke-re-u* has an *o-na-to* from this individual, whose name we can probably restore as *i-ma-di-jo*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 282. | **i-da-i-jo** | Uncertain[235] | |
| | An 661.2: certain, nominative | | none |
| | | | 1/1/1 |

An officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *e-ki-no*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 283. | **i-do-me-ne-ja** | *Idomeneiā* (cf. Ἰδομενεύς) | |
| | Eb 498.1: certain, nominative | | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) |
| | Ep 212.9: certain, nominative | | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) |
| Identification certain | | | 1/1/1 |

This woman is a servant of the god who owns a plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* (GRA T 1 V 3).

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[234] Sainer 1974, pp. 35, 54.

[235] Almost certainly not *Idaios* ("the man from Ida"), since we would expect in that case *wi-da-i-jo*. See Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 271–272, s.v. *i-da-i-jo*.

284. **i-ḍọ-me-ni-jo** *Idomenios* (cf. Ἰδομενεύς)
Gg 428.5: certain, dative none/not preserved
]-me-ni-jo
Fn 324.7: certain, dative none
Identification possible 1/2/2

This man is probably receives S 1 of wine (9.6 liters) on Gg 428. One of the other men of this text, *o-ro-ke-we* (dative), probably recurs on Fn 324 (as *ọ*[ ]*ke-we*).[236] This makes the prosopographical identification with the fragmentary name ]*me-ni-jo*,[237] which appears on Fn 324, an attractive possibility, if somewhat tenuous since both names are fragmentary. See section 4.3.

285. **i-ja-me-i** Uncertain
Fn 324. 7: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD T 1 V 2).

286. **i-jẹ-re**[
Jn 431.25: doubtful, genitive *a-pe-ke-e*
0/1/0

This could be a name in the genitive listed against 10 men, probably servants. It is however attractive to read *i-jẹ-re*[*-wo*, the genitive of "priest."

287. **i-ke**-[
Cn 938.2: certain, dative ]*ṭọ*
1/1/1

A herder; his flock's composition and size are not preserved.

288. ]**i-ko**-[
An 435.4: probable, nominative? none
0/1/1

Perhaps the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*. There are no other names at Pylos which contain this sign combination (*-i-ko-*).

289. **i-ma-di-ja** Uncertain
Ea 816: certain, nominative none
0/1/1

236 Olivier in Godart et al. 1986, p. 23.
237 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 57.

This individual holds a relatively large plot of land (GRA 2) from the *dāmos*. Lejeune has suggested that *i-ma-di-ja* is a mistake for *i-ma-di-jo*, who leases a plot of land to *e-ro₂-qo* on Ea 29.[238] This is possible, since recurring names within the Ea series are quite common, but without additional evidence it is impossible to be certain.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 290. **i-ma-di-jo** | Uncertain | | |
| Cn 436.5: certain, nominative | | none | |
| Ea 29: certain, nominative | | none | |
| Jn 310.15: certain, nominative | | *a-ke-re-wa* (HP) | |
| Identification probable (Jn, Cn), possible (Ea) | | | 1/3/2 |

*i-ma-di-jo*, a Potnian smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 3, herds an unpreserved number of female sheep on Cn 436. On Ea 29, he leases lands to *e-ro₂-qo*, a sewer (*ra-pte, raptēr*, cf. ῥάπτης). It is also possible that he is the lender on Ea 827, although only the *i*-[ is preserved (see above, s.v. i-[).[239] For prosopographical identification of the smith and shepherd, see section 3.1.2; for the prosopographical identification of this individual with the man from the Ea series, see section 3.1.10.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 291. **i-mo-ro-ne**[**-u**] | Uncertain | | |
| Jn 927.12: certain, nominative | | ]*me-no* | |
| | | | 1/1/1 |

An *a-ta-ra-si-jo* smith.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 292. **i-na** | Perhaps *Inās* (cf. Ἰνώ)[240] | | |
| Ep 539.3: certain, nominative | | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| ]ị-na | | | |
| Eb 885.A: certain, nominative | | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| Identification certain | | | 1/1/1 |

This man, a servant of the god, holds *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos*, but on neither text is the size of the field preserved.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 293. **i-na**-[ | | |
| Fn 837.2: probable, dative | | none |

238 Lejeune 1974, p. 92.
239 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 57.
240 Ruijgh 1967, p. 143.

A recipient of grain (HORD). Although *i-na-ọ* is a possible reading for this word, not all the entries on this text are personal names. The lack of connections between Fn 837 and An 209 (where the name *i-na-o* appears) make it impossible to connect it to *i-na-o*.

294. **i-na-ma-ta** Uncertain
Ma 126.1a: doubtful, nominative/dative? *si-re-wa*
0/1/0

This word is probably not a name (no other names appear in the Ma series).[241]

295. **i-na-o** Uncertain
An 209.5: certain, nominative none (*ko-ri-to*?)
1/1/1

This man appears in a list of Korinthian *statēres* (*ta-te-re*).

296. **i-ni-ja** *Iniā* (cf. Ἰνώ)[242]
En 609.6: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 211.3: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A female servant of the god who holds one plot of *ki-ti-me-na* land from *wa-na-ta-jo* (GRA T 2 V 4).

**i-pa-sa-na-ti** see *e-pa-sa-na-ti*

297. **i-pe-ra-ta** Uncertain
Jn 601.12: certain, nominative *po-wi-te-ja*
1/1/1

An *a-ta-ra-si-jo* smith.

298. **i-pe-se-wa** Uncertain
Fr 1184.3: certain, dative none
1/1/1

This individual is recorded as being in the possession of 38 *ka-ra-re-we*, jars of oil (perhaps stirrup jars). This text records the transfer of oil from *Kōkalos*

[241] Palmer 1963, pp. 325, 422; Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 466. For a review of the suggestions, see Aura Jorro 1985, p. 280, s.v. *i-na-ma-ta*.
[242] Ruijgh 1967, pp. 143, 169.

to *E*(*h*)*umedes*, the only Fr tablet found in the Archives Complex; if the two entries are related, then these jars would have held on average 13.6 liters of oil each.[243]

299. **]-i-p̣ụ-ma**
Un 1319.1: possible, uncertain case none
0/1/0

It is unclear whether this word is a personal name or a toponym.[244]

300. **i-qa-ne[**
Xa 176.1: probable, dative *pe-re-wo-te*
0/1/1

This word is almost certainly a personal name, as it is the object of the preposition *pa-ro*. The toponym *pe-re-wo-te* appears elsewhere only on Na 513. The text is fragmentary; no ideograms are preserved.

301. **i-qe[**
Fn 837.9: probable, dative none
0/1/1

A recipient of an unpreserved amount of grain.

302. **i-ra-ta** Uncertain
En 659.16: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
[i-ra-ta]
Eo 281.2: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
1/1/1

A male servant of the god who holds a plot of *ki-ti-me-na* land (GRA V 3) from *ra-ku-ro*.

303. **i-sa-ma[-]ṭạ** Uncertain
Cn 200.2: probable, nominative *wa-wo-u-*[ ]
1/1/1

Probably the name of a herder of 63 male goats.

304. **i-sa-na-o-ti** Uncertain
Cn 254.6: certain, dative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

243 Shelmerdine 1985, p. 25; Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 481.
244 Aura Jorro 1985, p. 284, s.v. ]-*i-pụ-ma*.

A herder of female sheep (of unpreserved number) with *a-ke-o* as his "collector."[245]

305. **i-so-e-ko** Uncertain
Fn 187.17: possible, dative none
0/1/0

It is unclear whether this is a personal name; a recipient of HORD T 2.

306. **i-ta-ra-jo** Uncertain[246]
Jn 431.10: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

An *a-ta-ra-si-jo* smith.

307. **i-wa-ka** Perhaps *Iwa(k)khās*[247]
Jn 310.16: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
Ub 1317: certain, nominative none
i-wa-ka-o
Jn 310.11: certain, genitive *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
Identification possible 1/2/2

On Jn 310, *i-wa-ka* is a Potnian smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 3; he also has one servant. On Ub 1317, he is listed as owing eight deerskins from last year (*e-ra-ti-ja-o o-pe-ro pe-ru-si-nwa-o E* 8). The only possibly parallel case is that of the smith (Jn 692, 725) *ra-ma-jo*, who may perhaps be identified with *ra-ma-o* on Ub 1316,[248] who likewise owes eight deerskins from last year. This striking similarity, lessened by the lack of clear congruency between *ra-ma-jo* and *ra-ma-o*, makes the prosopographical identification attractive but merely possible. See section 4.8.

308. **i-wa-so** *Iwasos* (cf. Ἴασος)
Cn 655.6: certain, nominative *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd with a flock of 70 male sheep, with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector."

245 The suggestion that this name is a variant spelling of *i-na-o-te* (nom. *i-na-o*) is extremely unlikely (Landau 1958, pp. 58, 171).
246 Perhaps *Istraios* or *Itharaios*.
247 Leukart 1994, p. 213 and n. 213.
248 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 104; but see Aura Jorro 1993, p. 218 n. 2, s.v. *ra-ma-o*.

JA

309. **]-ja**
Aq 64.2: certain, nominative none

A possessor of a share [of land] (*mo-ro-qa, mo*(*i*)*rokkʷās*).

310. **]-ja-do-ro**
An 340.5: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man is with (*pa-ro*) the individual named *a-ta-o*, probably in a craft context. No other name at Pylos contains the sign sequence *-ja-do-ro*. It may be possible to read ]*q̣ẹ-ja-do-ro*.

JO

311. **]jo**
Un 1320.5: possible, dative none/not preserved

Possibly the name of a man listed against an unpreserved number of *A* (an obscure commodity).

312. **[ ]-jo**
Jo 438 *lat.sin.*: probable, nominative none

This man, who has the title of *a-to-mo*, is listed against AUR P 3, the smallest amount of gold listed on Jo 438.

313. **]-j̣ọ-ṭạ**
Aq 218.12: certain, nominative none

This reading is not excluded; traces of only three signs are preserved. This man is *ke-ki-jo*, i.e., the son of **ke-ko*, as is the *hekʷetās a-e-ri-qo-ta* on An 657.11 and plausibly Aq 218.5. This sign sequence therefore refers to either *a-e-ri-qo-ta* himself, or his brother. The latter is more likely, since *a-e-ri-qo-ta* already appears in the first paragraph of Aq 218.

## KA

314. **ḳạ[**
Cn 485 β.1: probable, case uncertain — not preserved

A herder of an unpreserved flock.

315. **ka[**
Cn 485.3: probable, nominative or dative? — *da-we-u-pi*

A herder of an unpreserved flock.

316. **ka[**
Vn 851.4: probable, dative — none/not preserved

The name of a recipient of *de-mi-ni-ja* (probably beds).

317. **[ · · ]-ka-[ · ]**
An 261.16: certain, nominative — none

A member of the *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) of *a-pi-qo-ta*.

318. **ka-da-ro** Uncertain
Cn 40.9: certain, dative — *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 85 male sheep with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector."

319. **ka-da-si-jo** Uncertain
An 519.2: certain, nominative — *ro-o-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

This man is the first officer listed in the military unit (*o-ka*) of **to-ro*. He is perhaps modified by the next word, *mo-ro-qa* (*mo*(*i*)*rokkʷās*, possessor of a share [of land]).

320. **ka-do-wo** Uncertain
Aq 64.3: certain, nominative — none
Cn 719.1: certain, nominative — *ma-ro* (HP)
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

This man is a possessor of a share [of land] (*mo*(*i*)*rokkʷās, mo-ro-qa*) on Aq 64. He also appears as a shepherd of a flock of 40 male sheep with *a-ke-o* as his "collector." There is little to connect these two occurrences.

321. **ka-e-sa-me-no** *Kahesamenos*
An 656.19: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
ka-e-sa-me-no-jo
Vn 34.2: certain, genitive none
Identification probable 1/2/1

*ka-e-sa-me-no* is an *e-qe-ta* associated with the military unit (*o-ka*) of *du-wo-jo*. He is there called *a-pu$_2$-ka*, an ethnic. On Vn 34, a man with the same name is listed against a woman named *a-*64-ja*. See section 4.7 for the probability of prosopographical identification.

322. **ka-e-se-u** *Kaheseus*
Qa 1299: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man, described as Potnian (*po-ti-ni-ja-wi-jo* [*sic*]), receives one animal skin (**189*).

323. **]ka-i-jo**
An 435.15: possible, nominative? none/not preserved

Perhaps the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*. It may be possible to read ]*ạ-ka-i-jo* or ]ı̣ *ka-i-jo*.

324. **ka-ka-po** Perhaps *Kakkabos*
Jn 320.3: certain, nominative *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-ụ*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4.

325. **ka-ke-u** Probably *Khalkeus* (cf. Χάλκων)[249]
Jn 750.8: certain, nominative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
ka-ḳẹ[
An 519.6: possible, nominative *ro-o-wa* (HP)
Identification probable 1/2/1

This aptly-named individual is a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2 on Jn 750. He may also appear in the *o-ka* of *ke-we-no* at *ro-o-wa*, if we read *ka-ḳẹ*[*-u*. For arguments that the smith and officer are probably the same individual, see section 2.4.

[249] It is also possible to read *ka-ke-u* as *Kalkheus* (cf. Κάλχας).

326. **]ka-ni[**
Cn 1059.5: possible, nominative — not preserved
0/1/1

Perhaps the name of a herder; the flock is not preserved, as the text is highly fragmentary.

327. **]-ka-no**
Jn 832.5: certain, nominative — *ro-u-so* (HP)

Possibly *ẉạ-ka-no*; a smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

328. **ka-nu-ta-jo** — Perhaps *Ganusthaios*
An 129.6: certain, nominative — *a-so-na*?
1/1/1

A man with (*pa-ro*) a man named *ti-ko-jo*.

329. **ka-pa-ra$_2$** — Uncertain[250]
Jn 706.10: certain, nominative — *pa-to-wo-te*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5.

330. **ka-pa-si-ja** — Uncertain[251]
Vn 851.12: certain, dative — none
0/1/1

This woman is a recipient of one unit of *de-mi-ni-ja* (probably beds). It is possible that she is the same person as *ka-pa-ti-ja* the key-bearer.[252]

331. **ka-pa-ti-ja** — *Karpathiā* (cf. Καρπάθιος)
Eb 338.A: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 704.7: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 539.9: certain, genitive — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Un 443.3: certain, dative or nominative — none
Identification certain (E-), possible (Un) — 1/2/1

[250] See the extensive discussion of Leukart 1994, pp. 231–232.
[251] If a doublet of *ka-pa-ti-ja*, then the derivation must be the same. There are alternative possibilities, however (for which, see Aura Jorro 1985, p. 316 and n. 2, s.v. *ka-pa-si-ja*).
[252] Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 60; see Aura Jorro 1985, p. 316 and n. 3, s.v. *ka-pa-si-ja* for further references. Against this possibility, see Palaima 2002, pp. 216–217 n. 46.

This woman is the key-bearer (*ka-ra-wi-po-ro, klāwiphoros*, cf. κλειδοῦχος) at *Sphagiānes*. On Ep 704/Eb 338, she holds a two large plots (together, totaling GRA 4) of *ke-ke-me-na* land which she does not work (*o-u-wo-ze*) as she is supposed to (*o-pe-ro-sa … wo-ze-e*). On Ep 539, a woman of the same name appears as the owner of a (male) servant named *pu-ṛụ-da-ka* who holds *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos*. This must be the same woman, given that she appears with *e-ri-ta* on Ep 704, whose servants appear immediately before *pu-ṛụ-da-ka* on Ep 539. On Un 443, *Karpathiā* gave (]*ḍọ-ke*, the aorist third person singular) nearly 200 liters of grain (HORD 2). It is likely that this is the same woman, only because women rarely appear by name outside of the E- series, and the entry before *ka-pa-ti-ja* appears to relate to a religious festival,[253] which is consistent with her role as a religious official. See section 4.2.1.

**ka-ra-[** see *ka-ra-wa-ni-ta*

332. **ka-ra-do-wa-ta** Uncertain
Ea 57: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This individual holds a plot of land from the *dāmos* (GRA 1).

333. **ka-ra-i** Uncertain
Es 650.8A: certain, nominative none
Es 726.1: certain, nominative none
[ka-ra-i]
Es 644.8: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This individual has a relatively small landholding of GRA T 3 on Es 650 and is one of the contributors of *dosmoi* in the Es series.

334. **ka-ra-ni-jo** Perhaps *Karānios* (cf. Κάρανος)[254]
Wo 1199: possible, case uncertain none
0/1/0

This is the only word on this clay label.[255]

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253 See Aura Jorro 1993, p. 144, s.v. *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja*.
254 Bechtel [1917] 1964, p. 513.
255 Olivier 1997, p. 81.

335. **ka-ra-pa-so** Uncertain
Jn 389.5: certain, nominative *a-ka-si-jo-ne*
ka-ra-*56-so
Eo 269 *lat.sup.*: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
ka-ra-*5̣6̣-ṣọ
Ẹn 659.19: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification possible 1/2/2

This name is written *ka-ra-pa-so* on Jn 389, a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2. On En 659 and Eo 269, the name is written *ka-ra-*56-so*, where it refers to a landholder at *pa-ki-ja-ne* who is a servant of the god. On the possibility of prosopographical identification, see section 3.1.10.

336. **ka-ra-pi** Perhaps *Krambis*
Ea 808: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This individual has a land lease from the *dāmos* of GRA 1; moreover, he is specified as an armorer (*e-te-do-mo*). The other *e-te-do-mo* is *a-tu-ko*, who is specified as being royal (*wa-na-ka-te-ro*). *ka-ra-pi* is probably accordingly *lāwāgesian*, given the fact that the adjective *ra-wa-ke-si-jo* often appears in the Ea series.[256]

337. **ka-ra-so-mo** Uncertain
Fn 79.7: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD V 5).

338. **ka-ra-su-no** Uncertain
Cc 660: certain, dative *me-ta-pa* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of 30 male goats that the "collector" *a-ke-o* "collects" (*a-ke-re*, ἀγείρει).

339. **ka-ra-te-mi-de** Uncertain
Gn 428.3: probable, dative none/not preserved
0/1/1

256 Palmer 1963, p. 220.

This individual, if this is a personal name, is the recipient of a large amount of wine (VIN 1 S 2).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 340. | **ka-ra-u-du-ro** | Uncertain | |
| | Eb 835.1: certain, nominative | | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) |
| | Ep 705.5: certain, nominative | | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) |
| Identification certain | | | 1/1/1 |

This servant of the god holds *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* (GRA T 1).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 341. | **ka-ra-u-ko** | Γλαυκός | |
| | Cn 285.4: certain, nominative | | *ro-u-so* (HP) |
| | Jn 706.8: certain, nominative | | *pa-to-wo-te* |
| | Jn 832.5: certain, nominative | | *ro-u-so* (HP) |
| Identification certain | | | 1/1/1 |

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* (the amount is unpreserved) at *pa-to-wo-te* (Jn 706) but *a-ta-ra-si-jo* at *ro-u-so* (Jn 832), *Glaukos* also appears as a herder of 30 male goats on Cn 285. Note that *Glaukos* is listed at the same toponym in Jn 832 and Cn 285.[257] For prosopographical identification, see sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 342. | **ka-ra-u-ro** | Probably *Kalauros*[258] | |
| | An 192.8: certain, nominative | | none |
| | Jn 750.7: certain, nominative | | *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP) |
| Identification tenuous | | | 1/2/2 |

*ka-ra-u-ro* appears in a personnel register on An 192; it is also the name of a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 343. | **ka-ra-wa-ni-ta** | Uncertain | |
| | Cn 45.12: certain, dative | | *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo* (FP) |
| ka-ra-[ | | | |
| | Mn 1412.1: probable, dative | | none/not preserved |
| Identification possible | | | 1/2/2 |

On Cn 45, *ka-ra-wa-ni-ta* has a flock of 100 male goats in the Further Province with *a-ke-o* as his "collector." On Mn 1412, the reading *ka-ra-ẉạ*[ is possible and *ka-ra-ḍọ-ẉọ*[ is not excluded. Shelmerdine notes that the possible

[257] He is the only instance of this occurring between the Cn and Jn series; Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 67.

[258] Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 551.

reading of *ka-ra-ẉạ*[ recalls *ka-ra-wa-ni-ta*, the shepherd associated with the "collector" *a-ke-o* on Cn 45.12. *a-ke-o* appears twice in the Mb/Mn series, and thus prosopographical identification is "an attractive possibility."[259] See section 3.2.4.

344. **ka-ra-wi-ko** Probably *Klāwiskos*
Jn 389.3: certain, nominative *a-ka-si-jo-ne*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

345. **ka-ra-wi-so** Uncertain
Ja 1288: probable, dative none
0/1/1

Probably a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja*. This word is listed against a very specific amount of metal which is about average for a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* in the Jn series (AES M 4 N 1 P 6, or 4.2 kg). This text was found in the Northeast workshop (room 99).

346. **ka-ra-*82[** Uncertain
Jn 431.2: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5.

347. **]ka-re-u**
Aq 218.11: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This individual without a *ktoinā*, a plot of land (*a-ko-to-no*), is listed against one pair (*ZE*) on Aq 218; other than his name, he is designated as *e-ko-me-na-ta-o *34-te*. *e-ko-me-na-ta* is an *o-ka* commander on An 661. **34-te* is an obscure word, perhaps with an agentive ending in *-tēr*; it may be a kinship term, given that three patronymics appear in this paragraph.[260] Lindgren sought to identify this individual prosopographically with *ạ-ke*[ ]*u*,[261] but there are difficulties in accepting the variations in spelling.

[259] Shelmerdine 2002, p. 316.

[260] Lindgren hypothesized that **34-te* was φράτηρ (Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 162–163), but since **34* has a value of *ai vel sim.* (Melena 2000, pp. 13–19; forthcoming) this interpretation is not possible.

[261] Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 22.

348. **ka-ri-se-u** *Khariseus*
Jn 431.22: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

A Potnian smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

349. **ka-ri-si-jo** Χαρίσιος
Jn 706.16: certain, nominative *pa-to-wo-te*
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

350. **ka-ro-qo** Χάροψ or Χάροπος[262]
Vn 865.5: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

A man in a list of shipwrights.

351. **ka-sa** Uncertain
Cn 202.3: probable, nominative/dative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
0/1/1

A shepherd with 102 penned male sheep.

352. **]ka-sa-ṭạ** Ξάνθας
Mn 162.6: probable, dative none/not preserved
0/1/1

This is probably a personal name listed against four units of the textile **146*; the next line reads *pa-ro ke-ku-ṛọ*. It is likely, based on its position in the text, that *pa-ro* preceded *ka-sa-ṭạ* as well. This text is probably a breakdown of the tax contributions from the Further Province, as argued by Killen and Shelmerdine; the individuals with whom there are quantities of **146* would be people responsible for making preliminary collections of textiles for delivery to palatial authority.[263]

353. **ka-sa-to** Ξανθός
An 39.6: certain, nominative none
Jn 320.5: certain, nominative *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-ụ*
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

[262] von Kamptz 1982, pp. 139, 214, 226–227.
[263] Killen 1996, p. 147; Shelmerdine 2002, pp. 330–331.

*ka-sa-to* is a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 3̣ on Jn 320. The same name appears on An 39, a personnel register. There is little reason to believe that the same individual is meant.

354. **ka-so** Probably *Kasos* (cf. Κάσος)
Cn 599.2: certain, dative *$a_2$-ne-u-te* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 45 male sheep with *a-ko-so-ta* as his "collector."

355. **ka-ta-no** *Kastanōr*
Eb 890.1: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 705.2: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A servant of the god who holds *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* (GRA T 2).

356. **ka-ta-wa** Perhaps *Katarwās*[264]
Cn 40.13: certain, dative *a-ne-u-te* (HP)
Jn 605.4: certain, nominative *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2 on Jn 605; on Cn 40 he herds 80 female sheep with *a-ko-so-ta* as his "collector." His activities are geographically proximate, in adjacent districts. For prosopographical identification, see section 3.1.2.

357. **ka-u-ṣọ[**
Jn 832.7: certain, nominative *ro-u-so* (HP)
0/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

358. **ka-u-ti-ṭạ**
An 340.14: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man is with (*pa-ro*) the individual named *a-ta-o*, probably in a craft context.

264 Leukart 1994, p. 228.

359. **ka-wa-do-ro** Perhaps *Gawandros*[265]
Ep 212.7: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
ka-]ẉạ-do-ro
Eb 976.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This servant of the god holds a lease of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* of GRA V 3.

360. **ka-wa-ra** Uncertain
Qa 1289: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This woman, a priestess, receives an unknown number of animal hides (**189*).

361. **ka-wa-ti-ro** Uncertain
An 340.2: certain, nominative none
ka-wa-ti-ṛọ[
Mb 1401: certain, dative none
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

On An 340, *ka-wa-ti-ro* is with (*pa-ro*) the individual named *a-ta-o*, probably in a craft context. Mb 1401 is an inventory of textiles; an unpreserved number of **146* textiles are with *ka-wa-ti-ro* (*pa-ro ka-wa-ti-ṛọ*).[266] Prosopographical identification with the man from An 340 is tenuous (see section 4.5). The individual on An 340 may be the same individual as a smith on Jn 431 named ]*wa-ti-ro* (see section 3.1.5).

362. **ka-wi-ta** Perhaps *Kalwītās*[267]
Cn 600.9: certain, nominative *e-qa-se-wo wo-wo* (FP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 70 female sheep.

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[265] Neumann 1995, p. 140. See, on the other hand, Leukart 1994, pp. 222–223 n. 240 (*Kalwandros*, cf. Καλλιάνειρα).
[266] See Shelmerdine 2002, pp. 316–318.
[267] Leukart 1994, p. 195.

KE

363. **ke-da-si[** Uncertain[268]
Jn 927.3: certain, nominative ]*ṃẹ-no*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 or more (probably M 1 N 2).

364. **ke-do-jo** *Kerdoiōn*
Ua 158.1: probable, nominative none
]ke-do-jo-no[
Mb 1365: certain, genitive none
Identification possible 1/2/2

On Ua 158, *ke-do-jo* is listed against large quantities of textiles (**146* 20), grain (GRA 7) and figs (*NI* 5̣). Mb 1365, recently joined by Melena to Xa 1386, lists the son of *ke-do-jo* against 4 units of **146*.[269] The prosopographical identification seems possible, based on the connection in commodity; see further section 2.4.[270]

365. **ke-i-ja** *Kēheia*[271]
Qa 1303: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This woman is probably a priestess (*i*[*-je-re-ja*]); she is allocated two animal hides (**189*).

366. **ke-ka-to** *Kekastos*
Pn 30.3: certain, dative? none
1/1/1

This individual is listed as giving 26 of the commodity **169* (probably beds) to *a-ko-so-ta*; he still owes 9̣ more (*o* for *o-pe-ro*, "deficit"). He is probably the supervisor of a work group that produces beds.

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268 Perhaps *ke-da-si-jo* (*Kerdansios*).
269 Melena 2002b, p. 378.
270 Shelmerdine 2002, p. 335.
271 From toponym *ke-e* (PY Aa 93, Ad 295).

367. **ke-ki** Perhaps Κέρκις
Jn 692.6: certain, nominative *na-i-se-wi-jo* (HP)
Jn 725 *r.orig*.20: certain, nominative *na-i-se-wi-jo* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 692; on Jn 725 he has a *ta-ra-si-ja* of an unspecified amount of metal. All of the smiths which occur on Jn 692 also occur on lines 19–20 of Jn 725; prosopographical identification is therefore certain (see section 3.1.1).

368. **ke-ki-jo** *Kerkios* (cf. *Kerkos*)
An 657.11: certain, patronymic
Aq 218.12: certain, patronymic
[ ]jọ
Aq 218.5: probable, patronymic

This word is used as a patronymic for the *hekʷetās a-e-ri-qo-ta* on the *o-ka* text An 657 (unusually, the patronymic is here written before the personal name). It appears at least once on Aq 218, probably twice. On line 12 of Aq 218, it appears after a name which has not been preserved. On line 5, however, only the last sign of what is probably a patronymic is preserved with space for two signs in the unpreserved gap. In my opinion, this must be *ke-ki-jo*, as it modifies *a-e-ri-qo-ta*. It is almost certain, then, that either *a-e-ri-qo-ta* appears in both paragraphs of Aq 218 or his brother appears in the second paragraph; the latter appears more likely.

369. ***ke-ko** *Kerkos* (cf. Κέρκων, Κερκῆς)
ke-ko-jo
Fn 50.2: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

*Kerkos* is the head of a *gʷasilēwiā* (*qa-si-re-wi-ja*) on Fn 50 which receives an unpreserved amount of grain (HORD). It is usually assumed that this means that *Kerkos* is himself a *gʷasileus*. It is not impossible that this individual actually is the father of the *hekʷetās a-e-ri-qo-ta*.

370. **ke-ku-ṛọ** Κερκύλος
Mn 162.7: certain, dative none/not preserved
1/1/1

This individual is listed against four units of the textile **146*. This text is probably a breakdown of the tax contributions from the Further Province, as argued by Killen and Shelmerdine; the individuals with whom there

are quantities of *146* would be people responsible for making preliminary collections of textiles for delivery to palatial authority.[272]

371. **ḳẹ-[ ]-qo-ta** Uncertain
Jn 320.5: certain, nominative *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-ụ*
0/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5. In light of the fact that the reading is not secure, and that *-qo-ta* is a relatively common suffix of a name, we cannot be sure that this is a unique name. It may be possible to read *ḳẹ-qo-ta*.

372. **ke-ra-u-jo** Perhaps *Kerawios/Kerawiōn*
Eb 501.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 301.11: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A landholder (*ko-to-no-o-ko*) with *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* (GRA T 4).

373. **ke-re-no** Perhaps *Gerēnos*[273]
Cn 599.6: certain, dative *wa-no-jo wo-wo* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder with 80 female goats; *a-ke-o* is his "collector."

374. ***ke-re-ta** Uncertain
ke-re-ta-o
Cn 1287.7: possible, genitive none
0/1/0

The man *a₂-ra-ka-wo*, who is listed as giving a single female goat to the palatial authority, probably for consumption, is described as the servant of this individual (*ke-re-ta-o do-e-ro*). However, given that the previous entry on this text is the servant of *di-u-ja*, a divinity, it seems probable that this is not the name of a person.[274]

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[272] Killen 1996, p. 147; Shelmerdine 2002, pp. 330–331.
[273] Cf. Γερήνιος, epithet of Nestor, which however derives from the place-name Gerena, also attested as Gerenia (Chantraine 1999, pp. 216–217, s.v. γερήνιος). This town was located in southeastern Messenia (Shipley 2004, p. 556). Hesiod calls the town Γερήνωι (dative singular; fr. 34 Merkelbach-West) and its inhabitants Γερηνοῖς (dative plural; fr. 35.8 Merkelbach-West).
[274] See Aura Jorro 1985, p. 348, s.v. *ke-re-ta-o* for the suggestions to date.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 375. **ke-re-te-u** Κρηθεύς[275] | | |
| Ea 59.3–5: certain, nominative | none | |
| Ea 304: certain, nominative | none | |
| Ea 305: certain, nominative | none | |
| Ea 771: certain, nominative | none | |
| Ea 800: certain, nominative | none | |
| Ea 806: certain, nominative | none | |
| Na 565: probable, nominative | *ti-no* | |
| ke-]ṛẹ-te-ụ | | |
| Ea 809: certain, nominative | none | |
| ke-re-u | | |
| Ea 59.2: certain, nominative | none | |
| Ea 827: certain, nominative | none | |
| Identification certain (Ea), possible (Na) | | 1/2/2 |

This man is a central figure in the Ea series; he appears in the first four entries of Ea 59 with two different spellings, *ke-re-u* and *ke-re-te-u*. It appears as if the scribe first wrote *ke-re-u*, and then realized that *ke-re-te-u* would be a more precise spelling; he contined to use this spelling rather than *ke-re-u*, which only appears on one other text (Ea 827). On Ea 59, *ke-re-te-u* holds five plots of land: GRA 2[ T? ]4 of *ke-ke-me-na* land, GRA 1 T 8 of *ke-ke-me-na* land of the swineherd, a lease of GRA 3 from the *dāmos*, and one from the *e-*[ of the *lāwāgetās* of GRA 2, and one of GRA 5 "because of the horse." He holds several other plots elsewhere: one of G̣ṚẠ[ ] T 6 from *sa-ke-re-u* (Ea 304), a plot of GRA T 1 of the cowherd (*qo-qo-ta-o*; Eo 304); one of GRA 2 from *mo-ro-qo-ro* the shepherd (Ea 800) and one of unknown size from *i*[(Ea 827). He also holds a lease of GRA T 3 of the honey-man (*me-ri-te-wo*, gentive singular of *meliteus*, whose name is **ku-ru-no*) on Ea 771, a lease of GRA 1 T 2 of *ke-ke-me-na* land on Ea 806, and a lease of GRA T 2 of *ke-ke-me-na* land of the wheelwright of the *lāwāgetās* (*ra-wa-ke-si-jo-jo a-mo-te-wo*) on Ea 809.

On Na 565, it is likely that *ke-re-te-u* pays flax to the palace in respect of land held *ti-no*.[276] Palmer used this, and the fact that *du-ni-jo* (also on Ea 59) is called *ti-ni-ja-ta* on Fn 79, to localize the entire Ea series at *ti-no*.[277] Clearly, this individual is of great importance, as he holds a large amount of land in the Ea series, apparently of various types. See sections 4.2.2, 4.6.

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275 von Kamptz 1982, pp. 108, 350. The other possibility is to derive it from a toponym; cf. *Krāthis* in Achaia (Hdt. 1.145, Strabo 8.386) and south Italy (Strabo 10.449).

276 There is no significant spacing between the words *ke-re-te-u* and *ti-no* on Na 565.

277 Palmer 1963, p. 220.

376. **ke-ro** Perhaps Γέρων
Jn 410.10: certain, nominative not preserved
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

377. ***ke-ro-ke-re-we** *Kherroklewēs*[278]
ke-ro-ke-re-we-o
Sa 487: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

This individual is the producer of two pairs of serviceable chariot wheels with a border (ROTA+*TE*).

378. **ke-ro-u-te-u** Probably *Keloutheus*
Cn 600.3: certain, nominative *o-re-e-wo wo-wo* (FP)
ke-ro-u-te[ ]
Fn 324.16: certain, dative none
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

A shepherd of 90 male sheep. A man possibly of the same name is a recipient of grain (HORD V 2, 3.2 liters). The prosopographical identification is tenuous, as the connections between the two tablets is weak (see section 3.2.7).

379. **ke-ro-we** Uncertain
Cn 4.9: certain, nominative *ma-ta a-ka-re-u-te*
1/1/1

This individual owes seven sheep near *a-si-ja-ti-ja*.

380. **ke-ro-wo** Perhaps *Kerowos*
Ae 134: certain, nominative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
Cn 131.7: certain, dative *ma-ro* (HP)
ke-ro-wo-jo
Cn 655.3: certain, genitive *ma-ro* (HP)
Identification certain 1/2/1

A shepherd of 130 male sheep in Cn 131 and of 85 old (*pa-ra-jo*) male sheep in Cn 655. On An 134, *ke-ro-wo* is identified as a herdsman (*po-me*, ποιμήν) at *a-si-ja-ti-ja* who keeps watch over (*o-ro-me-no o-pi*) the quadrupeds

278 Neumann 1995, p. 146 and n. 61.

(*qe-to-ro-po-pi*) of *ta-ra-ma⟨-ta⟩*.[279] Thus, everything about this individual points to herding activity. The distance between *ma-ro* and *a-si-ja-ti-ja* introduces some doubt as to the prosopographical identification of the herder (Cn series) with the herdsman (Ae 134). See further section 3.2.2.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 381. | **ke-sa-da-ra** | *Kessandrā*[280] | |
| | Fg 368: certain, dative? | none | |
| | Fg 828: certain, dative? | none | |
| | Mb 1380: certain, dative? | none/not preserved | |
| | Mn 1368.2: certain, dative? | *e-*[ ? | |
| | Mn 1368.3: certain, dative? | *i-no*[ ? | |
| ḳẹ[-]ṣạ-da-ra | | | |
| | An 435.2: certain, dative? | none | |
| Identification probable (An/Fg, Mb/Mn) | | | 1/2/1 |

This woman is listed against large amounts of grain and figs on Fg 368 (GRA 5 *NI* 5, i.e., 480 liters of each) and Fg 828 (GRA 5, 480 liters). On An 435, she appears in a context of the allocation of men by *a-ko-so-ta*, probably to her. Almost certainly the foodstuffs are intended to support the men.[281] *Kessandrā* is also listed against amounts of the textile _*146_ in two separate tablets. We can be certain that the woman from the Mb and Mn texts is identical. The prosopographical identification with the woman allocated rations and (most likely) men is probable (see section 4.5).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 382. | **ke-sa-do-ro** | *Kessandros*[282] | |
| | Vn 130.1: certain, nominative | none | |
| ke-sa-ḍọ[-ro] | | | |
| | An 435.17: certain, nominative | none | |
| Identification tenuous | | | 1/2/2 |

This man appears in the header of Vn 130, a text that records individual men located at various places in possession of vessels. On An 435, an individual possibly of the same name appears in a list of men who are probably allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra*. The connection is tenuous (see sections 2.4 and 4.7).

383. **ke-sa-me-no** Perhaps *Kessamenos*

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[279] Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 66, vol. 2, p. 180.

[280] García Ramón 1992.

[281] Nine VIR ideograms are preserved on An 435, but 19 entries can be discerned. If there were 20 men allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra*, 480 liters of grain divides into 24 liters to each (T 2 V 3). See Nakassis 2012b, p. 281.

[282] García Ramón 1992.

Cn 131.13: certain, dative — *ma-ro* (HP)
Fn 324 *v*.1: certain, dative — none
Identification tenuous — 1/2/2

A shepherd of 40 female sheep, this man appears on Fn 324 as a receipient of grain (HORD T 2) and modified by the word *ke-me-ri-jo*, possibly a patronymic or an ethnic. No recipients on Fn 324 appear also in the Cn series, and therefore the prosopographical identification is tenuous (see 3.2.7).

384. **ke-se-nu-wo** — *Ksenwōn* (cf. Ξένων)[283]
Cn 286.1: probable, nominative — *a-pa-re-u-pi* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd with *a-ke-o* or *a-ko-so-ta* as his "collector." The size or type of his flock is not preserved.

385. ]**ke-ta**
Ea 1406: possible, nominative — none

Possibly the name of a landholder in the Ea series. A title (*ra-wa-*]*ke-ta*) is also a possibility.

386. **ke-ta** — Uncertain
Jn 706.2: certain, nominative — *pa-to-wo-te*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5.

387. **ke-ti-ro** — Perhaps *Kestilos*[284]
Jn 415.3: certain, nominative — *ru-ko-a$_2$-ke-re-u-te*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5.

388. **ke-to** — Uncertain[285]
Cn 436.1: certain, nominative — none
1/1/1

[283] Neumann 1995, p. 153.
[284] Heubeck 1959, p. 122; Ilievski 1992, p. 328.
[285] Ilievski 1992, p. 327, suggests *Kēntōr, Kēttos, Kētōn*, and *Geitōn*.

A shepherd with a flock of 100 sheep (probably male; the sex is not indicated).

389. **[ ]ḳẹ-u**
Cn 1059.1: possible, nominative — not preserved

A herder of 20 animals of unknown type.

390. **]ḳẹ-u**
Cn 643.6: certain, nominative — not preserved

This herder has a flock of 40 female goats with *a-ke-o* as his "collector."

**ke-u-po-da** — see above, s.v. *e-sa-re-u*

391. **]ḳẹ-wa-o**
Xa 1337.1: possible, genitive — none/not preserved

Apparently this individual owes something to the palace, as his name is followed by *o-p̣ẹ[-ro*, "deficit." The only other word on this fragmentary text, *a-ka-na-jọ[*, is probably a toponym but it may not apply to this entry as it appears on the following line.

392. **ke-we-no** — Uncertain
Cn 600.1: certain, dative — *o-re-e-wo wo-wo* (FP)
Jn 431.23: certain, nominative — *a-pe-ke-e*
Identification certain — 1/1/1

A Potnian smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 431, *ke-we-no* is also a shepherd of 50 male sheep. On prosopographical identification, see 3.1.2.

393. **ke-we-to** — Uncertain
Jn 310.8: certain, nominative — *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
ke-we-to-jo
Jn 310.11: certain, genitive — *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
Identification certain — 1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*; his servant (*do-e-ro*) appears on the same text.

394. ***ke-wo-no** — Uncertain
ke-wo-no-jo
An 519.6: certain, genitive — none
1/1/1

The commander of a military unit (*o-ka*).

395. **ke-zo** Uncertain
Cn 328.10: certain, nominative *ro-u-so* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 40 penned male sheep.

KI

396. **ḳị-[ ]-ṭọ**
Mn 1368.1: possible, dative? *ḳạ*[?

This individual is listed immediately before *ke-sa-da-ra*, in a parallel position. Given the uncertainty of the readings, we cannot possibly suggest a prosopographical identification with another name or a unique identity.

397. **ki-du-ro** Uncertain
An 192.15: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man appears in a personnel register.

398. **ki-e-u** *Khiheus*
An 724.9: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
ki-e-wo
Aq 64.16: certain, genitive *me-ta-pa* (HP)
Identification probable 1/2/1

This man appears on An 724, a text which deals with the absence of rowers; it appears that *ki-e-u* is required to supply one man as a rower. This text is linked to the *o-ka* tablets by hand and stylus, as well as its administrative content. Thus, it is not surprising to find *ki-e-u* on the Aq diptych; he appears to be related to *e-ru-ta-ra*, an *o-ka* officer from An 654 (see above, s.v. *e-ru-ta-ra*). See also section 4.1.

399. **]ki-jo-qe-u** Uncertain
An 172.3: certain, nominative *e-ro-ma-to*
1/1/1

A man appears in a simple personnel text with craft associations (see below, s.v. *wo-wi-ja-ta*).

400. **ki-nu-ra** *Kinurās* (cf. Κινύρης)[286]
Qa 1301: certain, nominative none
ḳị-nu-ra
Vn 865.7: certain, nominative none
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

On Qa 1301, this man receives an unpreserved number of animal hides (**189*), and is called *me-nu-a₂*, a title of uncertain meaning. He is also listed as a shipwright on Vn 865. See further sections 4.4, 4.7.

401. **ki-ri-ja-i-jo** Uncertain
An 519.3: certain, nominative *ro-o-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

An officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *to-ro*.

402. **ki-ri-*82-jo** Probably *Kriswaios*[287]
Jn 320.4: certain, nominative *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-ụ*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5.

KO

403. **ko**[
An 615.5: possible, dative? not preserved

Possibly a man's name in a fragmentary list of names listed at various toponyms.

404. **ko**[
Jn 431.23: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*

The name of a smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

405. **ḳọ**[
Cn 485.1: probable, dative? *da-we-ụ*[*-pi*]

[286] von Kamptz 1982, p. 129.
[287] Melena 2000, p. 45; forthcoming.

Probably the name of a herder; the size and composition of his flock is not preserved.

406. ]**ko**[
Cn 441.2: probable, dative? ]*ạ-ke-ṛẹ-ụ*[

Probably the name of a herder; the size and composition of his flock are not preserved.

407. ]-**ko**[
An 435.10: probable, nominative none

Probably the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*. It may be possible to read ]*p̣ị-ko* or ]*ẹ-ko*.

408. ]**ko**
An 435.10: probable, nominative? none

Probably the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*.

409. ]**ko**
Cn 1059.2: possible, nominative not preserved

Perhaps the name of a herder; the size and composition of his flock are not preserved.

410. **ko-a$_2$-ta** Perhaps *Kohatās*
Jn 706.17: certain, nominative *pa-to-wo-te*
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 706. Lindgren connected this name to ]-*a$_2$-ta* on An 172 (see section 3.1.8).[288]

411. **ko-do** Uncertain
Ea 803: certain, nominative none
Ea 824: certain, nominative none
Ea 825: certain, nominative none
Vn 130.11: certain, genitive *me-te-to* (HP)
ko-do-jo
Ea 71: certain, genitive none
Ea 754: certain, genitive none
Identification certain (Ea), tenuous (Vn) 1/2/2

[288] Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, pp. 68–69.

This individual holds several plots of land in the Ea series. On Ea 803, he holds a plot of the *dāmos* (*da-mi-jo*) (GRA T 6 V 2); on Ea 824, he holds another lease of GRA T 4 from the *dāmos*, where he is described as a herdsman (*po-me*, ποίμην). *ko-do* also leases out land. On Ea 825, *ta-ra-ma-ta* holds a land lease (GRA T 1) from *ko-do* the herdsman, and on Ea 754 *ti-ri-da-ro* the weaver leases land (GRA T 6) of *ko-do* (*ko-do-jo*, genitive). Ea 71 records *ki-ti-me-na* land of *ko-do* (GRA 1 T 4̣ V 3).[289] On Vn 130, there are three vessels located with *ko-do*. Connecting the *ko-do* in the Ea series to the man in Vn 130 is difficult (see section 2.4).

412. **]ḳọ-do-[·]-no** Uncertain
An 614.2: possible, uncertain case none/not preserved

This may be a name in a personnel register with connections to the *o-ka* set.

413. **ko-do-ro** Κόδρος
Jn 706.17: certain, nominative *pa-to-wo-te*
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

414. **ko-i-ṛọ** Perhaps *Koiros* (cf. Κοιρόμαχος)[290]
Eb 862.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
[ko-i-ṛọ]
Ep 613.3: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A holder of *ke-ke-me-na* land (GRA T 3) at *Sphagiānes*, he is identified as a possesor of a *ka-ma* (*ka-ma-e-u*) who works the land.

415. **]ko-jo[**
Vn 851 *v*.1: possible, dative? none

If this is a personal name, which seems the most plausible of all the possibilities, it is probably male. Unfortunately the *verso* of Vn 851 is fragmentary. The *recto* probably records a distribution of *de-mi-ni-ja* (probably beds) to individuals; perhaps the *verso* records the number of *de-mi-ni-ja* which have

289 Presumably the nominative *po-me* (herdsman) on Ea 71.a refers to *ko-do*, although his name is in the genitive (*ko-do-jo*).

290 Bechtel [1917] 1964, p. 253. See Beekes 2010, vol. 1, p. 732, s.v. κοίρανος.

been supplied *to* the palace for distribution; if this is the case, then this man has delivered five and still owes three more.

416. **ko-ka-ro** Perhaps Κώκαλος
Fg 374: certain, nominative or dative none
Fr 1184.1: certain, nominative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

On Fg 374, this man is allocated a large amount of agricultural staples (96 liters of grain and figs) and is called an unguent-boiler (*a-re-po-zo-o*). On Fr 1184, he gives a large amount of oil (518.4 liters) to *E*(*h*)*umedēs*, who is also elsewhere identified as an unguent-boiler (see above, s.v. *e-u-me-de*). Clearly this is the same man (see section 4.2.2).[291]

417. **ko-ki-jo** Uncertain
An 657.3: certain, nominative *o-wi-to-no* (HP)
1/1/1

This man is an officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ma-re-u*.

418. **ko-ma-do-ro** Perhaps *Kōmandros*[292]
Jn 725.8: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we*
⟦ko-ma-ḍọ-ro⟧
Jn 658.10: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we*
Identification certain 1/1/1

On Jn 658, *ko-ma-do-ro*'s name is erased, along with his *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5. On Jn 725, he is listed among the *ta-ra-si-ja* smiths, who are not allocated a specified amount of metal. With one exception, every individual who appears on Jn 658 is also listed in the preliminary text Jn 725. See sections 2.2, 3.1.1.

419. **ko-ma-we** *Komāwens*
An 519.10: certain, nominative *o-ru-ma-to*?[293] (HP)
Jn 750.9: certain, nominative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
ko-ma-we-te
Cn 925.1: certain, dative *da-we-u-pi*
Identification certain (An, Jn), probable (Cn) 1/2/1

291 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 69, vol. 2, p. 24; Killen 2001a, p. 170.
292 Neumann 1995, p. 141.
293 Lang 1990, p. 122.

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2 (Jn 750), a herder of 16 male pigs (Cn 925), and an officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ke-wo-no* (An 519). On An 519, his patronymic is also provided (*de-wi-jo*), which elsewhere (Aq 218.10) modifies the name *pa-ku-ro*$_2$, evidently the brother of *Komāwens*. Because *pa-ku-ro*$_2$ appears on Jn 750 adjacent to *Komāwens*, the prosopographical identification of the officer in the *o-ka* set and the smith is certain. The prosopographical identification of this individual with the herder is probable. It is worth noting that in *Komāwens* and *Pakhullos* (*pa-ku-ro*$_2$) we have two members of an elite family involved in the organization of metallurgy. See section 2.4.

420. **ko-ne-wa-ta** Uncertain
Jn 431.13: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

421. [ ]**ḳọ-no**
Jn 725.3: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* (one of 27 smiths who share a total of AES L 2 M 18).

422. **ḳọ-pa-ẉị-jo** Uncertain
Fn 324.28: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD T 1).

423. **ko-pe-re-u** Κοπρεύς
Es 646.1: certain, nominative none
Es 650.1: certain, nominative none
ko-pe-re-wo
Es 644.1: certain, nominative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is listed as one of the thirteen landowners and contributors in the Es series. His contribution on Es 644 (GRA T 7), relative to the others, is large; he owns a correspondingly large amount of land (GRA 6), the second largest in this series.

424. **ko-pi-na** Uncertain
Ep 613.15: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
1/1/1

This woman is a servant of the god who holds GRA T 2 of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos*. There is no corresponding Eb text preserved.

425. **ko-ri-si-ja** *Korinsiā* (cf. Κορινθία)
Eb 347.1: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
En 74.18: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
En 74.24: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 247.3: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 212.4: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
ko-ri-]si-ja
Eo 160.4: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A female servant of the god who holds multiple plots of land at *pa-ki-ja-ne*. On Ep 212/Eb 347 she holds *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* of GRA 1. She also holds *ki-ti-me-na* land from *a₃-ti-jo-qo* and *pi-ke-re-u*; both are GRA T 5 in size. It is perhaps significant that she owns the same amount of *ki-ti-me-na* (GRA T 5 + GRA T 5) and *ke-ke-me-na* (GRA 1) land. On prosopographical identification, see section 4.2.

426. **ko-ro** Perhaps Χῶλος[294]
Eq 146.2: probable, nominative none
Cn 131.11: certain, dative *ma-ro* (HP)
Identification possible 1/2/2

On Cn 131, *ko-ro* is a shepherd of 24 female sheep. It is not certain that *ko-ro* on Eq 146 is a man's name; it is identified as a personal name by Palmer, but as the genitive plural χώρων ("of lands") by others.[295] However it is much more likely that this is the name of a male landowner, since *ko-ro* is immediately followed by the phrase "so much seed" (*to-so-de*, *pe-mo*) that is repeated in the other entries on this text. The only two elements missing from the formula used in the other entries are *o-da-a₂* and *e-ke*, both of which can be supplied from the header.[296] I consider the prosopographical identification of the shepherd and the landowner possible (see section 3.2.6).

[294] Ilievski 1992, p. 328.
[295] Palmer 1963, p. 430. See Aura Jorro 1985, p. 384, s.v. *ko-ro* II.
[296] Alternatively, one could see the "header" as part of the first entry; after all, we cannot be sure that *te-re-ta* is plural (it might be singular as well), and *e*-[ could be restored as *e*-[*ke* or *e*-[*ko-si*. This interpretation would involve accepting that the first entry follows a different format from the others (*o-da-a₂* + title + verb + personal name + *to-so-de pe-mo* GRA, as opposed to *o-da-a₂* + name + title + verb + *to-so-de pe-mo*), but this is hardly impossible.

427. **ko-ro-ja-ta** Uncertain
Ae 72: certain, nominative *i-na-ni-ja*
1/1/1

This man is registered on an obscure text. He will do something (*su-ra-se*) to objects (*me-tu-ra*, probably livestock) that belong to *du-ni-jo*.[297] Animal herding appears to be the most likely context for this tablet. The only other clue is that his man is called a *tu-ra-te-u*, an office of obscure function, but one which possibly appears in a religious context on Vn 48.

428. **ko-ro-ṣụ-ka** Uncertain
An 192.6: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man appears in a personnel register. *ko-ru-ẓẹ-ka* is a possible reading.

429. **ko-ro-tu-no** Uncertain
Jn 478.2: certain, nominative *wi-ja-we-ra₂* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4.

430. ***ko-ru-da-ṛọ** Probably Κορυδαλλός
ko-ru-da-ṛọ-jo
Ae 26: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

This man has four servants which are under the supervision of an individual named *pe-ṃẹ* (*o-pi pe-ṃẹ*). The readings *ko-ru-da-pị-jo* and *ko-ru-da-ẹ-jo* are possible, but unlikely.

431. **ko-ru-no** Perhaps *Korunos*
Cn 131.4: certain, dative *pi-*82* (HP)
Cn 719.9: certain, nominative *wi-ja-we-ra₂* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A shepherd of 100 male sheep on Cn 131, and 66 old (*pa-ra-jo*) male sheep on Cn 719. His flocks are located at toponyms that are in the same region. For prosopographical identification, see section 3.2.1.

297 Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 169.

432. **ko-ru-ta-ta** Perhaps *Koruthartās*[298]
Cn 254.5: certain, dative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 80 male sheep with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector."

433. **ko-sa-ma-ne** Uncertain
An 615.16: probable, nominative *ko-tu-we* (HP)
0/1/1

An entry in a fragmentary list of names listed at various toponyms.

434. **ko-sa-ma-to** Uncertain
ko-sa-]ma-to
Eb 915.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
ḳọ-ṣạ-ma-to
Ep 212.8: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A servant of the god who holds *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* of GRA T 1.

435. **ko-so-ne** Uncertain
Cn 45.2: certain, dative *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo* (FP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 80 male sheep with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector."

436. **ko-so-u-to** Ξοῦθος
Jn 389.13: certain, nominative *a-ka-si-jo-ne*
1/1/1

An *a-ta-ra-si-jo* smith.

437. **ko-ta-wo** Uncertain
Jn 431.18: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

A Potnian smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 3.

438. **ko-to-wa-[ ]**
Jn 601.7: certain, nominative *po-wi-te-ja*
1/1/1

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[298] Leukart 1994, p. 86.

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 8. The reading *ko-to-wa-p̣ẹ*[ is not excluded.

439. **ko-tu-ro$_2$** Probably *Kotullōn* (cf. Κοτύλος)
Cn 436.6: certain, nominative none
Eb 499.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Jn 431.2: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
ko-tu-[ro$_2$]
Ep 301.13: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
ko-tu-]ṛọ$_2$
Eb 839.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
ḳọ[-tu-ro$_2$
Ep 613.13: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
ko-ṭụ-ro$_2$-ne
Eb 1347.1: certain, dative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain (Cn, Jn), possible (Eb/Ep) 1/2/2

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5 on Jn 431, *ko-tu-ro$_2$* also appears on Cn 436 with a flock of female goats (how many is not preserved). *ko-tu-ro$_2$* appears as a prominent individual in the Eb/Ep series: he holds a plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land on Eb 499/Ep 301 of GRA T 1; on Eb 839/Ep 613 he has *ka-ma* plot of GRA T 5. On Eb 1347 (no extant correspondence) a man without a preserved name (perhaps a servant of the god) leases GRA T 2 of land from *ko-tu-ro$_2$*. *ko-tu-ro$_2$* is described on Eb 499 and Eb 1347 as a *pa-da-je-u*; on Eb 839 he is described as *ka-ma-e-u*, *mi-ka-ta* and *pa-da-je-u* (= Ep 613.13, but *pa-da-we-u* instead of *pa-da-je-u*). It seems clear from the application of the title *pa-da-je-u*/*pa-da-we-u* that we are dealing with the same person.[299] On the certain prosopographical identification of the smith and the shepherd, see section 3.1.2. On the possible prosopographical identification of the smith/shepherd and landowner, see section 3.2.6.

440. **ko-wa-to** Uncertain
Cn 328.3: certain, nominative *a-ka-na-jo* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder with 50 penned male goats.

441. **ko-za-ro** Uncertain
Jn 431.17: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

299 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 72.

A Potnian smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 6.

KU

442. **ku-da-ma-ro** Uncertain
Es 644.13: certain, nominative none
Es 650 *v*.4: certain, nominative none
[ku-da-ma-ro]
Es 652.1: certain, nominative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is one of the landowners (GRA 1 T 2) and contributors of *dosmoi* in the Es series.

443. **ku-ka-ra-so** Uncertain
Cn 643.4: certain, nominative *pi-*82* (HP)
ku-]ka-ra-so
Cn 719.8: certain, nominative *pi-*82* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A herder of 53 female goats with *a-ke-o* as his "collector" on Cn 643. On Cn 719, he has a flock of 30 female sheep with *a⟨-ko⟩-so-ta* as his "collector." For prosopographical identification, see section 3.2.1.

444. **ku-ke-re-u** Κυκλεύς
Jn 845.12: certain, nominative not preserved
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

445. **ku-pi-ri-jo** Κύπριος[300]
Cn 131.3: certain, dative *pi-*82* (HP)
Un 443.1: probable, nominative none
ku-pị-ri-jo
Cn 719.7: certain, nominative *pi-*82* (HP)
ḳụ-pi-ri-jo
Jn 320.3: certain, nominative *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-u*
Identification certain (Cn, Jn), probable (Un) 1/2/1

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[300] Note that this name need not indicate that this individual actually is a Cypriot; his family may have links (social, political, economic) with Cyprus which engendered the name (McLean 2002, p. 92; Palaima 2005, p. 22).

The man has a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4 on Jn 320. The same name belongs to a shepherd of 50 male sheep on Cn 131 and of 60 male sheep on Cn 719, with *a-ke-o* as his "collector." We can identify the two shepherds as the same individual with certainty (section 3.2.1), and the shepherd with the smith (section 3.1.2). The name also appears on Un 443, a tablet which records payment for alum with wool and textiles; the prosopographical identification of the smith with the individual on Un 443 is probable, based on the recurrence of smiths' names in both texts dealing with alum (section 3.1.9)

446. **ku-ṛị-na-ze-ja** Uncertain
Fn 187.7: possible, dative none
0/1/1

A recipient of grain and figs (HORD T 2 *NI* T 2). It is not certain that this is a personal name.

447. **ku-ri-sa-to** Uncertain
Cn 4.2: certain, nominative *mu-ta-pi* (FP)
Jn 706.4: certain, nominative *pa-to-wo-te*
ku-ri-ṣạ-to
An 5.7: certain, nominative *mu-ta-pi* (FP)
Identification certain (An, Cn), possible (Jn) 1/2/2

*ku-ri-sa-to* is a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* (amount unpreserved) on Jn 706. This name also appears on Cn 4, listed against 22 sheep that are owed. On An 5, he appears in a list of men and their location. It is noteworthy that *ku-ri-sa-to* is located at *mu-ta-pi* on both Cn 4 and An 5. Because of his common place-indication, and the fact that the entry before him (*sa-ni-jo*) on An 5 also appears on Cn 4, we can be sure that the same individual is meant (section 3.2.3).[301] The prosopographical identification of this man with the smith is possible (section 3.1.6).

448. **ku-ro$_2$** Κύλλος
Ea 814.a: certain, dative none
1/1/1

This *lāwāgesian* man leases GRA T 1 of land to *o-ke-u*.

301 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 73.

449. **ku-ru-me-no** Κλύμενος
Aq 64.5: certain, nominative none (*i-te-re-wa*)
ku-ru-me-no-jo
An 654.1: certain, genitive HP (*me-ta-pa*?)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is the commander of a military unit (*o-ka*) on An 654. On Aq 64, he is called a possessor of a share [of land] (*mo*(*i*)*rokk$^w$ās* , *mo-ro-qa*) and the *korētēr* of *i-te-re-wa*. The heavy overlap between the *o-ka* texts and the Aq diptych renders the prosopographical identification certain (section 4.1). It is also the case that *me-ta-pa* is close to *i-te-re-wa*. As the *ko-re-te* of *i-te-re-wa*, this man also appears on Jn 438.25 listed against P 6 of gold.[302]

450. ***ku-ru-no** Uncertain
ku-ru-no-jo
Ea 801: certain, genitive none
0/1/1

The *ke-ke-me-na* land of this man, described as a honey-man (*meliteus*, gen. sg. *me-ri-te-wo*), GRA 1 T 1 in extent, is *a-no-no* (without benefit?).[303] It is likely that every time the *meliteus* is mentioned, this man is meant, in which case he leases land to five individuals in the Ea series.[304] It is possible, but unlikely, that *ku-ru-no-jo* is a scribal mistake for *ku-ru*⟨*-me*⟩*-no-jo*.[305]

451. **ku-sa-me-ni-jo** *Kursamenios*
An 519.16: certain, patronymic
Aq 218.4: certain, patronymic

This patronymic modifies the *hek$^w$etās* named *ro-u-ko*.

452. **ku-so** Uncertain
Eb 893.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 301.10: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man, a *ko-to-no-o-ko*, holds GRA V 3 of *ke-ke-me-na* land.

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302 See too Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, pp. 191–194.
303 See Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 68–69, s.v. *a-no-no*.
304 Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 97. The tablets are Ea 481, 771, 799, 813, 820.
305 See Aura Jorro 1985, p. 409 n. 1, s.v. *ku-ru-no*.

453. **ku-so-no** Uncertain
Ae 8: certain, nominative *i-na-ni-ja*
1/1/1

This man is responsible for doing something (*su-ra-se*) to the *me-tu-ra* (probably livestock) of *du-ni-jo*.

454. **ku-ṭẹ-ṛẹ-u** Perhaps *Kuthēreus* (cf. Κύθηρος)
An 261.6: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

A member of the *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) of *a-pi-jo*.

455. **ku-*63-so** Perhaps *Kuhisos*[306]
En 74.14: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 247.5: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A servant of the god, who holds a plot of *ki-ti-me-na* land (GRA T 1) from *a₃-ti-jo-qo*.

MA

456. **ma-[**
Jn 478.5: certain, nominative *wi-ja-we-ra₂* (HP)

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 2.

457. **ma-du-ro** Uncertain
Cn 655.18: certain, nominative *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 100 male sheep with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector."

458. **]ṃạ-jọ-ẉọ[**
Cn 485 δ.1: possible, nominative? none/not preserved

This possible name appears on a separate fragment (Xn 1470) of Cn 485 as a herder of an unpreserved flock.

306 Melena 2000, p. 34; forthcoming.

459. **ma-ka-ta/ma-ka-wo** Μαχάτας/*Makhāwōn* (cf. Μαχάων)[307]
ma-ka-ta
Jn 725.4: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
ma-ka-wo
Jn 658.3: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

*ma-ka-wo* has a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5 on Jn 658. On Jn 725 *ma-ka-ta* has a *ta-ra-si-ja*, but without a specific amount. The prosopographical identification of these two different names with a single individual was first made by Lejeune.[308] With one exception, every individual from Jn 658 recurs on Jn 725. Since Jn 725 is a preliminary text, it is perhaps unsurprising that some of the names differ; possibly the scribe wrote it hastily, without great concern for precise accuracy in naming the smiths. See further sections 2.2, 3.1.1.

460. **ma-ma-ro** Μάρμαρος[309]
Cn 655.17: certain, nominative *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 90 male sheep with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector."

461. **ma-na-si-we-ko** *Mnāsiwergos* (cf. Μνησίεργος)[310]
Jn 431.3: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5.

462. **ma-ni-ko** Probably *Manikhos*[311]
Cn 1287.10: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man is listed against one female goat on Cn 1287.

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[307] Neumann 1995, p. 147. Makhaon the Iliadic healer and son of Asklepios was allegedly Messenian (Paus. 4.3.2), and his tomb was located in Gerenia (Paus. 3.26.9, 4.3.9, cf. Strabo 8.4.4), in the Messenian Mani. In the *Iliad* Makhaon and his brother Podaleirios lead the Thessalian contingent, however (*Il.* 2.729–733).

[308] Lejeune 1971, p. 193 n. 105; Lang 1966, pp. 408–412; Ventris and Chadwick 1973, pp. 511, 559; Aura Jorro 1985, p. 419, s.v. *ma-ka-ta*. The prosopographical identification is not noted by Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 74.

[309] García Ramón 2011, p. 228.

[310] Neumann 1995, p. 149; García Ramón 2011, p. 221.

[311] Cf. Μανιχέω (*IG* IX 2.405). Aura Jorro 1985, p. 421, s.v. *ma-ni-ko*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 463. **ma-no-u-ro** | Uncertain | | |
| Jn 605.7: certain, nominative | | *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (HP) | |
| Jn 692.5: certain, nominative | | *na-i-se-wi-jo* (HP) | |
| Jn 725 *r.orig.*19: certain, nominative | | *na-i-se-wi-jo* (HP) | |
| Identification certain | | | 1/1/1 |

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 605 and Jn 692, but with a *ta-ra-si-ja* on the *recto originalis* of Jn 725 (where he shares AES M 12 with 7 other smiths). All of the smiths which occur on Jn 692 also occur on ll. 19–20 of Jn 725's *recto originalis*.[312] For prosopographical identification, see section 3.1.1.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 464. **ma-ra** | Uncertain | | |
| Cn 328.8: certain, nominative | | *a-ka-na-jo* (HP) | |
| Cn 328.9: certain, nominative | | *a-ka-na-jo* (HP) | |
| Identification certain | | | 1/1/1 |

This herder appears on adjacent entries on the same tablet: he has a flock of 40 female sheep and 40 goats (the sex is not indicated). See section 3.2.1.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 465. **ma-ra-me-na** | Uncertain | | |
| Vn 34.6: certain, nominative | | none | |
| | | | 1/1/1 |

This woman is listed against the man's name *qa-ko* in the genitive.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 466. **ma-ra-ni-jo** | Uncertain | | |
| Cn 643.3: certain, nominative | | *pi-*82* (HP) | |
| Cn 719.4: certain, nominative | | *pi-*82* (HP) | |
| Identification certain | | | 1/1/1 |

This is one of the three herders who appear on both Cn 643 and Cn 719, in all three cases at the same location. On Cn 643 he has a flock of 48 male goats with *a-ke-o* as his "collector." On Cn 719 he has a flock of 230 old (*pa-ra-jo*) male sheep. See section 3.2.1.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 467. **ma-ra-si-jo** | Perhaps *Mālāsios*[313] | | |
| An 1281.11: certain, nominative | | none | |
| Jn 706.9: certain, nominative | | *pa-to-wo-te* | |
| Identification probable | | | 1/2/1 |

[312] Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 75.
[313] Leukart 1994, pp. 178 n. 130, 295.

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* (amount not preserved) on Jn 706, *ma-ra-si-jo* also occurs on An 1281, where he is allocated to *mi-jo-qa* at the seat of Potnia. For the probable prosopographical identification, see section 3.1.7. Leukart has observed that formally *ma-ra-si-jo* is a patronymic of *ma-ra-ta*.[314] If so, could this *ma-ra-si-jo* then be the son of *ma-ra-ta* in Jn 750? This is an attractive possibility, for which cf. *pa-qo-si-jo*.[315]

468. **ma-ra-ta** Perhaps *Mālātās*[316]
Jn 750.5: certain, nominative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2. See also above, s.v. *ma-ra-si-jo*.

469. **ma-ra-te-u** Perhaps *Maratheus*[317]
An 657.7: certain, nominative *a₂-ru-wo-te*? (HP)
Cn 328.5: certain, nominative (HP)
]ma-ra-te-u
Aq 218.15: certain, nominative none
Identification certain (An/Aq), possible (Cn) 1/2/2

This man appears as an officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) commanded by *ne-da-wa-ta*. This is certainly the same individual as the man without land (*a-ko-to-no*) on Aq 218 (section 4.1). On Cn 328, a *ma-ra-te-u* is the shepherd of 10 penned female sheep. The identification is possible (section 3.2.3).

470. **ma-ra₃-wa** Uncertain[318]
Eb 866.B: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 705.1: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A female servant of the god who holds a plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* (GRA T 2).

314 Leukart 1994, pp. 178 n. 130, 295.
315 *ma-ra-ta/ma-ra-si-jo* and *pa-qo-ta/pa-qo-si-jo* are the only two examples where a name and the patronymic derived from it, used as a name, both appear in the Jn series. Examples of nonmatching pairs are *e-ko-to* (E-)/*e-ko-to-ri-jo* (Cn) and *e-te-wa* (*o-ka* set) and *e-te-wa-jo* (Cn, Sa).
316 Leukart 1994, p. 178.
317 Leukart 1994, p. 178 n. 130.
318 Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 559.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 471. **ma-re-ku-na** | Uncertain | | |
| En 74.6: certain, nominative | | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| Eo 276.5: certain, nominative | | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| Identification certain | | | 1/1/1 |

A servant of the god who holds a plot of *ki-ti-me-na* land (GRA T 1) from *ru-*83*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 472. **ma-re-u** | *Māleus*[319] | | |
| ma-ṛẹ-u | | | |
| An 661.10: certain, nominative | | *ti-mi-to-a-ko* (FP) | |
| ma-re-wo | | | |
| An 657.2: certain, genitive | | *o-wi-to-no* (HP) | |
| Identification impossible | | | 1/2/2 |

The commander of the first military unit (*o-ka*) on An 657, and the first officer listed in the unit of *e-ko-me-na-ta* on An 661. It seems impossible that this is the same man, since the military nature of the texts would seem to require that each individual in these texts be at a specific place full-time.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 473. **ma-ri-ta** | *Malitās* | | |
| Jn 832.5: certain, nominative | | *ro-u-so* (HP) | |
| | | | 1/1/1 |

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 474. **ma-ri-ti-wi-jo** | Uncertain | | |
| An 594.1: certain, nominative | | none | |
| Cn 40.7: certain, dative | | *a-ne-u-te* (HP) | |
| Identification possible | | | 1/2/2 |

This man appears on a personnel list on An 594; his is the only personal name on the text (the rest are professional designations). On Cn 40, he is a shepherd of 83 male sheep with *a-ko-so-ta* as his "collector." An 594 is closely connected to An 39, where *a-ko-so-ta* appears; possibly therefore these names refer to the same individual. See section 3.2.3.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 475. **ma-ro** | Probably Μάρων | | |
| Cn 328.2: certain, nominative | | *a-ka-na-jo* (HP) | |
| | | | 1/1/1 |

319 Cf. Μᾶλος (Bechtel [1917] 1964, p. 550).

A shepherd of 200 male sheep.

476. **ma-so-**[
Vn 48.2: possible, dative? none/not preserved

It is not certain that this fragmentary word is a personal name. Lindgren proposed a restoration of *ma-so-*[*ni-jo*], but there are no other personal names on Vn 48, and there is little to connect Vn 48 and Vn 851.

477. **ma-so-ni-jo** Perhaps *Massonios*[320]
Vn 851.13: certain, dative none
1/1/1

This individual is allocated two *de-mi-ni-ja* (probably beds).

478. **ma-ta-i** Uncertain
An 172.9: certain, nominative *a-we-u-pi*
1/1/1

This individual appears in a simple personnel text with craft associations (see below, s.v. *wo-wi-ja-ta*).

479. **ma-ta-ko** *Malthakos* (cf. Μαλθάκη)
Jn 845.11: certain, nominative not preserved
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

480. **ma-ta-wo** Perhaps *Matāwōn*
Ae 27: certain, nominative *a-ti-ri-ja*[ ?
1/1/1

This man appears in a herding context; he watches over the quadrupeds of an unpreserved individual. He appears to be identified as a throne-maker (*ṭọ-no-wo-ḳọ*, a mistake for *to-ro-no-wo-ko, thornoworgos*).

481. [·]**-ma-te-we** Uncertain
Cn 40.6: certain, dative *e-ko-me-no*
1/1/1

320 Ruijgh 1967, pp. 90, 145, 162.

A shepherd of 70 male sheep with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector." The reading *ḍạ-ma-te-we* is possible.

482. **ma-u-ti-jo** Uncertain
Cn 40.12: certain, dative *ma-ro* (HP)
Jn 389.2: certain, nominative *a-ka-si-jo-ne*
Identification probable 1/2/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 3 on Jn 389, *ma-u-ti-jo* also appears on Cn 40 with a flock of 60 female sheep with *a-ko-so-ta* as his "collector." For the probability of prosopographical identification, see section 3.1.2. Cf. *ma-wa-si-jo*?

483. **ma-wa-si-jo** Uncertain
Jn 431.5: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5. Cf. *ma-u-ti-jo*?

484. **ma-*79** Uncertain[321]
En 74.8: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 276.7: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This woman is a servant of the god who holds a plot of *ki-ti-me-na* land of GRA V 3 from *ru-*83*.

## ME

485. **me-ki-to-ki-ri-ta** Perhaps *Megistokritā*[322]
Ab 575: probable, nominative *pu-ro* (HP)
me-ki-to-ki[-ri-ta
Aa 955: probable, nominative none/not preserved
Identification certain 0/1/1

This is probably the name of a woman rather than an adjective modifying women. It would, however, be the only personal name in the Aa or Ab texts (leaving aside adjectives based on personal names, such as *we-we-si-je-ja* and

[321] Perhaps *Māw'w'ō* (Melena 2000, p. 43; forthcoming).
[322] Neumann 1995, p. 147; Ilievski 1996, p. 56.

*a-da-re-te-ja*). A point in favor of the the personal name interpretation is that on Ab 575, the name is followed by MUL 1.

]**-me-ni-jo** see above, s.v. *i-do-me-ni-jo*

486. ]**me-no**
Jn 415.10: certain, nominative *ru-ko-a₂-ke-re-u-te*

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

487. ]**-me-no**
Eq 146.9: certiain, nominative none/not preserved

]*ṛọ-me-no* is a possible reading for this word. This man is a doctor (*i-ja-te, iātēr*, cf. ἰητήρ) who holds GRA 1 of land in an unknown location. He may be a *te-re-ta*, if the header of this text applies to him and the other individuals in the second paragraph.

488. **me-ra-to** Μέλανθος[323]
Jn 832.11: certain, nominative *a-to-mo?*
1/1/1

A smith designated as a decorator (*a-ḳẹ-te* for *a-ke-te-re, askēteres*, cf. ἀσκητής).

489. **me-re-u** Uncertain
Ep 539.7: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
1/1/1

This man is a servant of the priestess (i.e., *e-ri-ta*) who holds a plot of GRA V 2 from ]*ṛẹ-me-ta* (probably [*po-to-*]*ṛẹ-ma-ta*) the *ka-ma-e-u*. It is also specified that *me-re-u* does not work his land (*o-u-qe wo-ze*).

490. **me-ri-wa-[·]** If *me-ri-wa-ṭạ*, perhaps *Meliwātās*[324]
Jn 431.24: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

A Potnian smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*. The reading *me-ri-wa-ṭạ* is not excluded.

[323] Ilieveski 1996, p. 53.
[324] Leukart 1994, pp. 118–120. Ilievski 1992, p. 328, suggests *Meliwastās*.

491. **]me-ta**
Aq 218.13: certain, nominative none

This man is one of the men who is “without a share” (*a-ko-to-no*) who are listed against a pair (*ZE*). He is identified as *po-ru-da-si-jo*, the son of **po-ru-da-ta*.

492. **me-ta-ka-wa** Perhaps *Metakalwā*[325]
An 1281.6: probable, dative none
An 1281.12: probable, dative none
Identification certain 0/1/1

This woman appears as the recipient of two men, *po-so-ro* and *ti-ta-ra-*[*wo*], probably in a craft production context. See section 3.1.7.

493. **me-ta-no** *Metanōr*
Cn 719.3: certain, nominative *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 60 female sheep with *a-ke-o* as his “collector.”

494. ***me-te-u** Perhaps *Menteus* (cf. Μέντης, Μέντωρ)[326]
me-te-we
Cn 131.13: certain, dative *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A shpeherd of 163 penned male sheep.

495. **me-ti-ja-no** Probably *Mēstiānōr*[327]
Ub 1318.3: certain, nominative none
me-ti-ja-no-ro
Vn 34.1: certain, genitive none
Identification certain 1/1/1

On Vn 34, the woman *wo-di-je-ja* is listed against *me-ti-ja-no*. On Ub 1318, a text which lists leather goods of various sorts against named individuals, *me-ti-ja-no* appears in the same line as *wo-di-je-ja*. Chadwick comments that, “the woman who is described as ‘of Mestianor’ on Vn 1191 [now Vn 34], his wife or his servant? Perhaps husband and wife worked together on leather

[325] Ruijgh 1967, p. 255 n. 106.
[326] von Kamptz 1982, p. 255.
[327] Neumann 1995, p. 141.

goods."[328] Lindgren notes that another individual on Ub 1318, **au-ke-i-ja-te-u*, is listed as having servants on Fn 50, suggesting that *wo-di-je-ja* is a servant rather than a wife.[329] The possibility that this man also appears as ]*-ti-ja-no* on Xa 1253 is doubtful. See further section 4.7.

496. **me-to-qe-u** *Metōkʷeus* (cf. Μέτωπος)
An 192.11: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man appears in a personnel list.

497. **me-to-re** Perhaps *Mestorēs*[330]
Na 924.B: certain, nominative *ri-sa*(*-pi*)
1/1/1

This individual excuses the payment of 10 units of flax (*e-re-u-te-ro-se*) at *ri-sa*. Like *ke-u-po-da e-sa-re-u*, then, this is an individual who is involved in the granting of exemptions in the flax impost.[331]

498. **me-wi** Perhaps *Meiwis*
Aq 64.16: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This individual, who has a share of land, receives a pair (*ZE*) and an unpreserved amount of **171* this year. His entry is somewhat problematic: I argue above that he is the recipient for (i.e., in the place of) *e-ru-ta-ra* the son of *ki-e-u* (see above, s.v. *e-ru-ta-ra* and *ki-e-u*). Unfortunately we have no way of knowing what the relationship is between *me-wi* and *e-ru-ta-ra*.

499. ***me-za-wo** Perhaps *Mezāwōn*[332]
me-za-wo-ni
Un 138.5: certain, dative *pu-ro* (HP)
me-za-⟨wo-⟩ne
Fn 50.4: certain, dative none
me-za-[ ]ne
An 610.1: possible, dative? none
Identification probable (Un, Fn), tenuous (An) 1/3/2

[328] Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 491.
[329] Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 198.
[330] Risch 1987, p. 297; Ilievski 1992, p. 328.
[331] Foster 1981, p. 119.
[332] Ilievski 1996, p. 65.

On Un 138, *me-za-wo* appears to be responsible for a large amount of grain and olives (HORD 4 T 8 V 1 *ka-pa* OLIV 7), along with *du-ni-jo*, who is listed with even more foodstuffs. These agricultural staples are designated as *qe-te-a*$_2$ payments. It seems likely that *du-ni-jo* and *me-za-wo* are supervisors that collected foodstuffs intended for consumption in a feast.[333] It is likely that *me-za-wo* appears on Fn 50, based on *du-ni-jo*'s appearance on Fn 79, which is strongly linked to Fn 50 (see section 4.3). However, it is unlikely that we can identify this *me-za-wo* with the fragmentary word on the first line of An 610, since the second word on the first line of An 610 is *e-re-ta* (ἐρέται, "rowers"). This encourages us to expect a header, perhaps with a toponym (cf. An 1, An 724) or an adjective describing the rowers.[334] The dative of a man's name would be difficult to explain, unless there is an implied preposition such as *pa-ro*. In any case, there are no connections between An 610 and the other texts on which *me-za-wo* appears.

### MI

500. **mi-jo-qa** Perhaps *Miōk$^{w}$ā*[335]
An 1281.11: certain, dative — none
Fn 837.12: certain, genitive — none
mi-jo-qa[
An 1281.7: certain, dative — none
mi-jo[-qa]
Fn 50.12: certain, genitive — none
Identification certain 1/1/1

On An 1281, this woman is allocated two men named *e-we-za-no* and *ma-ra-si-jo*. On Fn 50, her servants, presumably the men allocated to her on An 1281, receive grain (HORD V 3). On Fn 837, her servant (*do-e-ṛọ*) receives an unpreserved amount of grain (HORD). Certainly the same woman is referred to in each case; see further section 3.1.7.

501. **mi-ka-ri-jo** *Mikalios* (cf. Μίκαλος, Μικαλίων)
Cn 600.5: certain, nominative — *o-re-e-wo wo-wo* (FP)
mi-ka-ri-jọ[ ]
Jn 605.3: certain, nominative — *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (HP)
mi-ka-ri-jo-jo
Jn 605.10: certain, genitive — *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

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333 Palaima 2004a, p. 109.
334 Chadwick 1987a, p. 76.
335 Ruijgh 1967, p. 255 n. 106; Leukart 1994, p. 223 n. 241.

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2, and with one servant.[336] On Cn 600, he is a shepherd of 92 male sheep with *a-ke-o* as his "collector." On prosopographical identification, see section 3.1.2.

502. **mi-ko-no** Uncertain
An 209.5: certain, nominative none (*ko-ri-to*?)
1/1/1

This man is in a list of Korinthian *statēres* (*ta-te-re*).

503. **mi-ra** Perhaps *Smilā* (cf. Σμίλας, Σμίλων)
Eb 905.1: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
En 74.4: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 276.3: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 613.16: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A female servant of the god with two plots of land: one *ki-ti-me-na*, GRA T 1 in extent, from *ru-*83*, and another *ke-ke-me-na*, of GRA T 1, from the *dāmos*. See section 4.2.

504. **]mi-to-no** Uncertain
An 172.4: certain, nominative *e-ro-ma-to*
1/1/1

This man appears in a simple personnel text with craft associations (see below, s.v. *wo-wi-ja-ta*).

## MO

505. **mo-da** Uncertain
Jn 601.5: certain, nominative *po-wi-te-ja*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 8.

**]mo-ke-re-we-i** see above, s.v. *a-mo-ke-re-we*

506. ***mo-qo-so** *Mok*$^{w}$*sos* (Μόψος)
mo-qo-so-jo
Sa 774: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

[336] His name was written and erased on Jn 605.2; the name *e-do-mo-ne-u* was written over the erasure.

This man is responsible for work on a pair of serviceable chariot wheels with a border (ROTA+*TE*).

507. **mo-re-u** *Mōleus* (cf. Μώλας)
Jn 389.6: certain, nominative *a-ka-si-jo-ne*
Jn 431.13: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
Jn 750.10: certain, nominative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2 on Jn 389, without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 431, and with a *ta-ra-si-ja* (amount not preserved) on Jn 750. For the prosopographical identification of smiths on multiple Jn texts, see section 3.1.1.

508. **mo-ri-wo** *Moliwōn* (cf. Μολίων)
Cn 1287.9: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man delivers two female goats, presumably for consumption.

509. **mo-ro-qo-ro** *Mologʷros* (Μόλοβρος)[337]
Ea 439: certain, dative none
Ea 800: certain, dative none
mo-ro-qo-ro-jo
Ea 782: certain, genitive none
Ea 817: certain, genitive none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This herdsman (nominative *po-me*, genitive *po-me-no*, dative *po-me-ne*, ποιμήν) is a major landholder in the Ea series, appearing four times. On Ea 439, a plot of land (GRA T 1) from *Mologʷros* is held by a man whose name is not preserved. Ea 800 is similar: *ke-re-te-u* holds a plot of GRA 2 from *Mologʷros*. Ea 782 is also quite similar, but with the genitive used instead of the dative; the land (GRA T 1) is held by a *lāwāgesian* man named *ru-ko-ro*. Finally, on Ea 817, a plot of *ki-ti-me-na* land (GRA 3̣ T 1̣ V 3̣) is of *Mologʷros*.

337 According to Neumann, this word originally meant mud-eater (Neumann 1992b; 1995, p. 157).

MU

510. **mu-ko** Perhaps Μύκων
An 172.5: certain, nominative *e-ro-ma-to*
1/1/1

This man appears in a simple personnel text with craft associations (see below, s.v. *wo-wi-ja-ta*).

511. ***mu-te-u** Probably *Murteus*
mu-te-we
Ub 1318.7: certain, dative none
Ub 1318.7: certain, dative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man appears on Ub 1318 listed in the context of the production of leather goods.

512. **mu-ti-ri** *Murtilis* (cf. Μυρτίλα, Μυρτίς)
Ep 212.6: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
mu-ti
Eb 858.1: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This woman is a servant of the god who holds a plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* (of GRA T 1). The variation in the spelling of her name is due to scribal error on Eb 858.1.

513. **mu-ti-ri-ko** Perhaps *Murtiliskos* (cf. Μυρτίλος)
Cn 1287.6: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man, a servant of the goddess *di-u-ja*, contributes one female goat, probably for consumption.

514. **mu-to-na** Probably *Murtōnās* (cf. Μύρτων)
An 519.3: certain, nominative *ro-o-wa* (HP)
Jn 706.7: certain, nominative *pa-to-wo-te*
Identification probable 1/2/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* (the amount is not preserved) on Jn 706, and an officer on An 519 in the military unit (*o-ka*) of **to-ro*. For prosopographical identification, see section 3.1.3.

NA

515. ]-**na**
Vn 851.7: probable, dative none/not preserved

This individual receives one unit of *de-mi-ni-ja* (probably beds).

516. **na-e-si-jo** *Nahesios* or *Nahesiōn*[338]
Jn 750.6: certain, nominative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

517. **na-ma-ru-ko** Uncertain
Cn 1287.3: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man contributes one female goat, presumably for consumption.

518. **na-me**[
Mb 1379: probable, dative none/not preserved
0/1/1

It appears that this is a personal name, because it is the object of *pa-ro*; this individual is listed against an unpreserved amount of **146*.

519. ]-**na-o**[
An 435.11: probable, nominative? none

Perhaps the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*.

520. **na-pu-ti-jo** *Nāputios*[339]
Jn 845.11: certain, nominative not preserved
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

521. ]**na-so**[
An 435.4: probable, nominative? none
0/1/1

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338 Ruijgh 1967, p. 153 n. 284; Gárcia Ramón 2002, p. 436 n. 19.
339 Ilievski 1992, p. 328; Neumann 1995, p. 157.

Perhaps the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*. The sign sequence *na-so* appears in no other personal name at Pylos.

522. **na-wa-to** Perhaps *Nawatos*
Jn 415.10: certain, nominative *ru-ko-a$_2$-ke-re-u-te*
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

NE

523. **ne[**
Cn 1059.3: possible, nominative ]*ẉọ-wo*

A herder; the size and composition of his flock is not preserved.

524. **]ne**
Cn 453.1: probable, dative *ka-pe-se-wa-o wo-wo*

A herder of 46 female goats with *a-ko-so-ta* as his "collector."

525. **ne-da-wa-ta** *Nedwātās*
Jo 438.7: certain, nominative none
ne-da-wa-ta-o
An 657.6: certain, genitive *o-wi-to-no* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is a commander of a military unit (*o-ka*) on An 657. On Jo 438, the amount of gold which *ne-da-wa-ta* contributes is not preserved. Prosopographical identification is certain because the entry immediately after *ne-da-wa-ta* on Jo 438 is *e-ke-me-de*, the first officer of his unit (see section 4.1).

526. **ne-e-ra-wo** *Nehelāwos* (cf. Νείλεως)[340]
Fn 79.5: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain and olives (HORD T 6 V 4 OLIV 1).

340 Neumann 1995, p. 141; Frame 2009, pp. 30–31; García Ramón 2009, p. 10.

527. **ne-ka-ta-ta** Uncertain
Vn 851.11: certain, dative none/not preserved
1/1/1

This woman receives one unit of *de-mi-ni-ja* (probably beds).

528. **]ṇẹ-ko-[ ]**
An 31.2: certain, nominative none/not preserved

This man appears in a personnel list.

529. **ne-me-ta-wo** Perhaps *Nēmertawōn*
Cn 4.7: certain, nominative *e-ri-to-ti-no* (FP)
1/1/1

This man owes 10 sheep in the Further Province. The header includes the general toponym *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, while *ne-me-ta-wo* is located more specifically at *e-ri-to-ti-no*.

530. **ne-qa-sa-ta** Uncertain
Fn 324.6: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD T 1 V 2).

531. **ne-qe-u** *Neik*$^{w}$*heus*
Aq 64.15: certain, nominative none
Jn 725.14: certain, nominative ]*-nu-we-jo*?
Qa 1298: certain, nominative none
ne-qe-wo
Eb 495.1: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
[ne-qe-wo]
Ep 613.1: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain (Eb/Ep, Qa), probable (Aq), possible (Jn) 1/3/2

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 3 on Jn 725, *ne-qe-u* also appears on Aq 64 as a *mo*(*i*)*rokk*$^{w}$*ās* (*mo-ro-qa*, possessor of a share [of land]). This man's patronymic is *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, meaning that he is brothers with *Alektruōn*, the *hek*$^{w}$*etās* on An 654 (section 4.1). *Neik*$^{w}$*heus* also appears in the Qa series as a recipient of one animal hide (**189*) and is called *e-da-e-u*. This title is also applied to him on Eb 495/Ep 613, where he holds an enormous amount of land (GRA 10 T 1). The Eb/Ep texts state that although he is required to render services "with two" (*du-wo-u-pi*), but he only renders

them "with one" (*e-me-de*); what this means is uncertain. At any rate, the use of the title *e-da-e-u* makes the prosopographical identification of the man from Qa 1298 and the landholder quite certain (section 4.2.1, 4.4). For the possible prosopographical identification of the landholder with the individual from the Aq diptych, see section 4.4. The prosopographical identification with the smith is only a possibility (section 3.1.10).

532. **ne-ri-to** Perhaps *Nēritos*[341]
Cn 131.4: certain, dative *pi-*82* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 30 penned male sheep.

533. **ne-ti-ja-no** *Nestianōr* (cf. Νέσσανδρος)[342]
Cn 599.1: certain, nominative *wa-no-jo wo-wo* (HP)
ne-ti-ja-no-re
Cn 40.1: certain, dative *wa-no-jo wo-wo* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A herder of 100 male goats on Cn 599 with *a-ke-o* as his "collector." On Cn 40, he herds 140 old male sheep. The toponym is the same in both texts, and one other shepherd appears on both Cn 40 and Cn 599 (*e-zo-wo*). See below on ]-*ti-ja-no*. See section 3.2.1.

534. **]ne-u**
Jn 725.15: certain, nominative ]-*nu-we-jo*?

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1.

535. **]ne-wa**
Cn 702.4: certain, dative not preserved

A herder of 30 female goats, with *a-ke-o* as his "collector."

536. **]ne-wo**
Jn 601.12: certain, nominative *po-wi-te-ja*

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

341 Cf. von Kamptz 1982, pp. 41, 82.
342 Neumann 1995, p. 141; García Ramón 2009, pp. 7–8.

NI

]-**ni-jo**[ see above, s.v. *du-ni-jo*

NO

537. **no-e-u** *Noheus*
Jn 431.11: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

538. **]ṇọ-[·]-ṭạ[**
Cn 437.2: possible, nominative not preserved

A shepherd of male sheep (number not preserved). Perhaps this name is a match for *a-no-ra-ta*.

539. **]no-wo[**
Cn 485 γ.1: possible, nominative/dative? none/not preserved

Possibly this word is a shepherd's name (from a separate fragment on Cn 485, Xn 1167).

NU

540. **]ṇụ-we-we**
Un 1193.4: possible, case uncertain none?

It is difficult to determine whether this word (and the other two on this line) are names or toponyms. The only certain personal name on this tablet is genitive (*we-da-ne-wo*), but ]*nu-we-we* cannot be genitive.

O

541. **o-**[
An 435.16: possible, nominative? none/not preserved

Perhaps the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*.

542. **o-[**
Vn 34.10: certain, nominative none

The name of a woman listed against a man whose name ends with ]*wa-o* (in the genitive).

543. **o[ ]ḳẹ-te-i**
Fn 324.5: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD T 1 V 2). This name appears to be unique, as no other name in the Pylos corpus begins with *o-* and ends in *-te* in the nominative.

**ọ[ ]ke-we** see below, s.v. *o-ro-ke-u*

544. **o-[·]-o-wa** Uncertain
Vn 34.3: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This woman is listed against the name's name **e-to-mo* in the genitive. The reading *o-ẉị-o-wa* is probable.

545. **o-du-*56-ro** Uncertain
An 261.5: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

A member of the *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) of *o-two-we*.

546. **o-ka** Uncertain[343]
Es 650 *v*.2: certain, nominative none
Es 727.1: certain, nominative none
[o-ka]
Es 644.11: certain, nominative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is one of the landowners and contributors in the Es series. He holds GRA 1 T 2 of land.

547. **o-ka-ri-jo** *Oikhalios*
Cn 655.8: certain, nominative *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

343 Leukart 1994, p. 211, discusses the possible interpretations.

A shepherd of 95 old male sheep.

548. **o-ke-te-u** Uncertain
Jn 693.6: certain, nominative *a-pu₂* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4.

549. **o-ke-u** Uncertain
Ea 259: certain, nominative none
Ea 814: certain, nominative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man holds two plots of land in the Ea series. On Ea 259, he holds a plot of GRA T 2 from the *dāmos* in conjunction with another man, *u-me-ta*.[344] On Ea 814, he holds a plot of GRA T 1 from a *lāwāgesian* man named *ku-ro₂*, where *o-ke-u* is called a leather-bearer (*di-⟨pte-⟩ra-po-ro*).

550. **o-ki-ra** Probably *Orkhil(l)ās*[345]
Cn 285.13: certain, nominative *ro-u-so* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 116 male sheep.

551. **o-ki-ri-so** Uncertain
Cn 202.2: probable, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 80 male sheep. The word immediately before his name, ]*me-wi-jo*, should be a toponym specifying his precise location, on analogy with Cn 328.[346] Alternatively, it could be an adjective modifying *o-ki-ri-so*, meaning "little."

552. **o-ko** Uncertain
Cn 436.4: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

344 Above is written *u-me-ta-qe , ạ-po*, "[*o-ke-u*] and *u-me-ta* both." This appears to be an afterthought, for the number of the verb was not changed (Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 449).
345 García Ramón 2002, pp. 431–436.
346 Aura Jorro 1985, p. 448, s.v. ]*me-wi-jo*.

A shepherd of 100 female sheep.

553. **o-ko-me-ne-u** *Orkhomeneus*
Ea 780: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man holds a plot of GRA 2.

554. **o-ku-ka** Probably *Ōgugās* (cf. Ὤγυγος)[347]
Cn 131.2: certain, dative *pi-*82* (HP)
Cn 719.5: certain, nominative *pi-*82* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A shepherd of 130 or more penned male sheep on Cn 131 (probably 150 or 160), *o-ku-ka* herds 70 male sheep on Cn 719 with *a-ke-o* as his "collector." See section 3.2.1.

555. **o-na-jo** Probably Ὀναῖος[348]
Jn 832.14: certain, nominative *a-to-mo?*
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

556. **o-na-se-u** *Onaseus* (cf. Ὀνάσας, etc.)[349]
An 1281.5: certain, nominative none
Jn 601.6: certain, nominative *po-wi-te-ja*
Jn 658.5: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Jn 725.4: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Identification certain (Jn), probable (An) 1/2/1

This man is assigned to **au-ke-i-ja-te-u* on An 1281. On Jn 601, he is a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 12, the largest amount recorded in the Jn series. On Jn 658, he receives a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5, while on the preliminary text Jn 725 he is counted as having a *ta-ra-si-ja* but without assigned a specific amount. All smiths from Jn 658 reappear on Jn 725. It is also relatively common for smiths to reappear elsewhere in the Jn series, and particularly smiths from Jn 601. Thus, we can be certain that all the occurrences in the Jn series refer to one man (see sections 2.2, 3.1.1). It is also probable that the same man is

347 See Leukart 1994, p. 207. Ὤγυγος is the name of a mythological Theban ruler (Paus. 9.5.1) and of an Attic king (Paus. 1.38.7).
348 Ruijgh 1967, p. 221; Ilievski 1992, p. 328.
349 Neumann 1995, p. 150 n. 74.

recorded on An 1281 (section 3.1.7). This text may record the allocation of craft specialists to work in a religious context.

557. **o-ṇụ[ ]**
An 172.11: certain, nominative *ta-ra-ke-wi*[ ]

This man appears in a simple personnel text with craft associations (see below, s.v. *wo-wi-ja-ta*). The reading *o-jạ*[ is possible but unlikely.

558. **o-p̣ạ[ ]**
An 261.17: certain, nominative none

This man is a member of the *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) of *a*-[, probably to be restored as *a*-[*pi-qo-ta-o*]. It may be possible to read *o-ṛọ*-[.

559. **o-pe-qa** Uncertain
Cn 570.4: certain, dative not preserved
o-qe-qa
Cn 45.9: certain, dative *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo* (FP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

On Cn 45, a herder of 40 female goats with *a-ko-so-ta* as his "collector." A slighly different spelling is recorded on Cn 570, where he herds an unpreserved flock, perhaps located at *ri-jo*. Only one other fully-preserved name occurs on Cn 570, *qe-ta-ko*, who also appears on Cn 45 *lat. inf.* We may therefore consider the prosopographical identification certain (see section 3.2.1), with the variation in spelling due to regressive dissimilation of the labiovelar.[350]

560. **o-pe-ra-no** *Ophelānōr* (cf. Ὀφέλανδρος)[351]
Jn 658.9: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Jn 725.6: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

*o-pe-ra-no* has a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5 on Jn 658, and shares on Jn 725 AES L 2 M 18 with 16 other smiths. All the smiths from Jn 658 appear on the preliminary text Jn 725 (sections 2.2, 3.1.1).

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350 Palmer 1963, pp. 43, 167; Aura Jorro 1993, p. 33, s.v. *o-pe-qa*.
351 Neumann 1995, p. 141.

561. **o-pe-re-ta** *Ophelestās*[352]
An 209.3: certain, nominative none (*ko-ri-to*?)
o-pe-re-ṭạ
Cn 655.14: certain, nominative *ma-ro* (HP)
Identification probable 1/2/1

*Ophelestās* appears in a personnel list of Korinthian *statēres* (*ta-te-re*), and as a shepherd of 86 female sheep with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector." Immediately before *o-pe-re-ta* on An 209, the shepherd *ra-mi-ni-jo* is listed, making prosopographical identification probable (section 3.2.3).

562. **o-pe-ro** Uncertain
Fn 324.8: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of HORD T 1 V 2.

563. **o-pe-se-to** Uncertain
Cn 600.11: certain, nominative *ti-mi-to-a-ko* (FP)
1/1/1

A herder of 60 female sheep with *a-ke-o* as his "collector."

564. **o-pe-te-re-u** Probably *Opheltreus*
Ea 805: certain, nominative none
Eb 294.1: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
o-pe-to-re-u
Ep 704.1: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man holds a large amount of *ke-ke-me-na* land in the Eb/Ep series (GRA 2 T 5), where he is labeled *qe-ja-me-no*. This is almost certainly an aorist participle from the verb τίω/τίνω, and Killen has connected this individual with a man of the same name who holds a large amount of land (GRA 2) in the Ea series "on account of manslaughter" (*e-ne-ka a-no-qa-si-ja*).[353] We can translate *qe-ja-me-no* as "having exacted satisfaction" and understand from Ea 805 that the basis for both landholdings is compensation for murder, presumably the murder of a member of *Opheltreus*' family (see section 4.2).

352 Leukart 1994, pp. 164–165.
353 Killen 1992, pp. 379–380; also García Ramón 2007.

565. **o-pi-si-jo** Ὄψιος[354]
Jn 927.11: certain, nominative ]*ṃẹ-no*
1/1/1

An *a-ta-ra-si-jo* smith.

566. **o-po-ro-me-no** *Hoplomenos*
Es 644.4: certain, nominative none
Es 647.1: certain, nominative none
Es 650.4: certain, nominative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This individual is one of the landholders/contributors in the Es series. He holds the third-largest amount of land (GRA 4).

567. **o-qa** Uncertain[355]
Jn 601.3: certain, nominative *po-wi-te-ja*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4.

568. ***o-qa-wo** *Hok$^w$āwōn*
o-qa-wo-ni
Fn 324.16: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A receipient of grain (HORD V 1).

**o-qe-qa** see *o-pe-qa*

569. **o-re-a$_2$** *Orehās*
Ep 705.7: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
1/1/1

A servant of the god who holds a small plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* (GRA V 2).

570. **o-re-ta** Ὀρέστας
An 657.3: certain, nominative *o-wi-to-no* (HP)
1/1/1

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354 Neumann 1995, p. 156; cf. Bechtel [1917] 1964, p. 355.
355 Leukart 1994, pp. 211–212, discusses the possible interpretations.

An officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ma-re-u*.

571. **o-ro-do-ko** Uncertain
Vn 865.8: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

A man in a list of shipwrights.

572. **o-ro-ke-u** Uncertain
o-ro-ke-we
Gn 428.5: certain, dative none
ọ[ ]ke-we
Fn 324.5: certain, dative none
Identification possible 1/2/2

The recipient of HORD T 1 V 2 on Fn 324 has been identified with *o-ro-ke-we* on Gn 428 by Olivier.[356] This possible prosopographical identification is strengthened by the possible restoration [*i-do-*]*me-ni-jo* on Fn 324.7, which would parallel *i-ḍọ-me-ni-jo* on Gn 428. See further section 4.3.

573. **o-ro-ti-jo** Perhaps *Olonthios* (cf. Ὀλονθεύς)[357]
An 724.10: probable, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
0/1/1

This man appears in a tablet which records absent rowers at various locations. Unfortunately, the line in which *o-ro-ti-jo* appears is fragmentary and it is difficult to determine the specific context. It seems likely that *o-ro-ti-jo* is responsible for providing additional rowers.

574. **o-ru-we-ro/po-ru-e-ro** Uncertain
o-ru-we-ro
Jn 725.6: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
po-ru-e-ro
Jn 658.9: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5 on Jn 658, this individual is also listed as having a *ta-ra-si-ja* (without an amount specified) in the preliminary text Jn 725. On prosopographical identification despite the great differences in the spelling of his name, see sections 2.2, 3.1.1.

356 Olivier in Godart et al. 1986, p. 23.
357 Ruijgh 1967, p. 158 and n. 313; cf. Bechtel [1917] 1964, p. 594.

575. **o-ti-na-wo** *Ortināwos*[358]
Cn 285.14: certain, nominative — *ro-u-so* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 100 male sheep.

576. **o-to-ro-qạ** Uncertain
Vn 493.3: certain, nominative — *e-sa-re-wi-ja* and *ẓạ-ma-e-wi-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

This man is listed against 50 units of an item without an ideogram at two different locations in the FP. The header of the tablet reads "messengers gathering kids [young goats]" (*a-ke-ro , e-po , a-ke-ra$_2$-te*).[359] Thus, it appears that *o-to-ro-qạ* is responsible for gathering groups of goats. Vn 493 appears to be organized by province, with the FP in the first five entries and the HP in the next four.

577. **o-tu** Probably Ὄτυς[360]
An 5.5: certain, nominative — *te-ko-to-a-pe* (FP)
1/1/1

This man is listed in a personnel register recording men at various locations.

578. **o-tu-wo-we** *Orthwōwēs*[361]
Jn 658.7: certain, nominative — *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Jn 725.5: certain, nominative — *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
o-to-wo-⟨we-⟩o
Un 616 *v*.4: certain, genitive — none
o-to-ẉọ[-⟨we-⟩o
An 261 *v*.7: certain, genitive — none
o-to-wo-we-i
Vn 851.9: certain, dative — none
o-two-we-o
An 261.2–5: certain, genitive — none
Identification certain (An, Jn), tenuous (Vn 851) 1/2/2

This individual appears as a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5 on Jn 658; he is listed as having a *ta-ra-si-ja* on the preliminary text Jn 725 (see sections 2.2,

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[358] García Ramón 2009, p. 8.
[359] On this tablet, see Leukart 1996.
[360] García Ramón 2011, p. 219. This name is attested in Xenophon (*Hell.* 4.1.3).
[361] García Ramón 1993, p. 335.

3.1.1). A man of the same name is the head of a *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*). An 261 assigns four men to his *geronsiā*. An 261 further totals the men in his *geronsiā* as 14; on Un 616, his *geronsiā* is composed of 13 men. For prosopographical identification of the smith and the head of the *ke-ro-si-ja*, see section 3.1.4. On Vn 851, this individual is a recipient of one item, probably a bed. The prosopographical identification of this recipient with the smith is tenuous (section 4.7).

579. **o-wa-[**
Jn 927.4: certain, nominative ]*ṃẹ-no*

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 Ṇ [2?].

580. **o-wa-ko** Uncertain
Cn 131.5: certain, dative *pi-*82* (HP)
Jn 725.7: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A herder of 54 penned female goats on Cn 131, this man also appears on the preliminary text Jn 725, where he has a *ta-ra-si-ja* of an unspecified amount of metal. The toponyms are not proximate. See section 3.1.2 for prosopographical identification.

581. **o-wi-da** Perhaps *Owidās*[362]
Jn 725.24: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* (amount not specified).

582. **o-wo-ta** Uncertain
Jn 725.6: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* (amount not specified).

583. **o-wo-to** Uncertain
An 261.7: certain, nominate none
Vn 130.6: certain, dative *sa-ri-no-te* (HP)
Identification possible 1/2/2

362 Leukart 1994, p. 221, reviews the possible interpretations.

In Vn 130, five vessels are with *o-wo-to*. In An 261, he is a member of the *geronsiā* of **a-pi-jo*.[363] For prosopographical identification, see section 2.4.

PA

584. **pa-[**
Jn 927.7: certain, nominative ]*ṃẹ-no*

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

585. **pa-ka** Uncertain
Fn 7.8: certain, dative none
1/1/1

This individual receives a large monthly ration (OLIV 3, in addition to another foodstuff, probably HORD), in association with architectural craftsmen (wall-builders, sawyers and the all-builder) and *qa-ra₂*. It appears likely that he is a supervisor of some kind involved in this architectural project.[364]

586. **]p̣ạ-ke-u** Uncertain
Qa 1308: probable, nominative none
1/1/1

This man is allocated a single animal skin (**189*).

587. **pa-ku-ro₂** *Pakhullos* (cf. Παχυλλᾶς)
Aq 218.10: certain, nominative none
Jn 750.8: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2 on Jn 750, *Pakhullos* is listed against a pair (*ZE*) on Aq 218, where he is without a plot of land (*a-ko-to-no, aktoinoi*). On Aq 218, we also learn that his patronymic is *de-wi-jo*; he is therefore the brother of *ko-ma-we*. For prosopographical identification, see section 2.4.

588. **pa-na-re-jo** *Panareios* (cf. Πανάρης)
Fn 837.10: certain, dative none
1/1/1

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363 The string of signs *o-ẉọ-to* appears on the *verso originalis* of Sh 734, but it is hard to identify it as a personal name.
364 Melena 1998b, pp. 175–176; Nakassis 2012b, pp. 276–279.

A recipient of an unpreserved amount of grain.

589. **pa-pa-jo** Παμφαῖος
Jn 389.12: certain, nominative *a-ka-si-jo-ne*
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

590. **pa-pa-ra-ko** Probably Παφλαγών
Jn 845.5: certain, nominative not preserved
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

591. **pa-pa-ro** Uncertain
Cn 643.1: certain, nominative *a-pa-re-u-pi* (HP)
p̣a-pa-ro
Cn 719.10: certain, nominative *a-pa-*]*re-u-pi* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This herder has a flock of young (*wo-ne-we*) animals (the ideogram not preserved, they are perhaps male) on Cn 643; there are at least 40 in his flock (probably 60 or 80). On Cn 719, he has a flock of 100 male sheep with *a-ko-so-ta* as his "collector." For prosopographical identification, see section 3.2.1.

592. **pa-pu-so** *Pamphūsos*
Jn 415.4: certain, nominative *ru-ko-a$_2$-ke-re-u-te*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5.

593. **pa-qo-si-jo** *Pagg$^w$ōsios*[365]
Jn 310.8: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
Jn 832.10: certain, nominative *a-to-mo?*
pa-qo-ṣị[-jo]
Jn 601.8: certain, nominative *po-wi-te-ja*
p̣a-qo-si-jo
Mn 1412: certain, dative none/not preserved
pa-qo-si-jo-jo
Jn 310.12: certain, genitive *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
Identification certain (Jn), tenuous (Mn) 1/2/2

365 Formally, a patronymic of *pa-qo-ta vel sim.* Ruijgh 1967, p. 155; Ilievski 1992, p. 328; Leukart 1994, p. 50. For an alternative, see Attinger 1977, p. 67.

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* with one servant on Jn 310, *Pagg$^w$ōsios* is a *g$^w$asileus* on Jn 601, and a smith designated as a decorator (*a-ḳẹ-te* for *a-ke-te-re, askēteres*, cf. ἀσκητής) on Jn 832. On prosopographical identification of these instances of the name, see section 3.1.1. On Mn 1412 he is listed against an unpreserved number of textiles (**146*); probably he is a recipient.[366] There is little to connect the smith with this individual (see section 4.5). The name *pa-qo-si-jo* is formally the patronymic of *pa-qo-ta*, and it is striking that, as with *ma-ra-ta* and *ma-ra-si-jo*, both *pa-qo-ta* and *pa-qo-si-jo* are smiths in the Jn series. Perhaps they are father and son.

594. **pa-qo-ta** *Pag$^w$ōtās*
Jn 658.4: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Jn 725.2: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This smith has a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5 on Jn 658, and is listed as having a *ta-ra-si-ja* on the preliminary text Jn 725 as well. For prosopographical identification, see sections 2.2, 3.1.1.

595. **pa-ra-[**
Un 219.9: possible, dative?

This may be the name of an individual allocated aromatics in a religious context.

596. ***pa-ra-ke-se-u** Πραξεύς
pa-ra-ke-se-we
Fn 324.10: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD V 3).

597. **pa-ra-ko** Φάλαικος
Eb 377.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 224.2: certain, dative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 224.3: certain, dative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 301.12: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 613.12: certain, dative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
pa-ra-]ko
Eb 173.1: certain, dative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
pa-]ṛạ-ko
Ep 613.11: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

366 Shelmerdine 2002, pp. 314–318.

This man is a *ko-to-no-o-ko* with *ka-ma* land of GRA 1 on Ep 613. On the same text, *po-so-re-ja* holds a small plot of land from him. On Ep 301, he appears as one of the *telestai* (he is also specified as a *ko-to-no-o-ko* here) with *ke-ke-me-na* land in the amount of GRA T 7. On Eo 224 two plots of land from him are held by two servants of the god. There appears to be an alternation between his name and that of *a-ma-ru-ta* (compare Eo 224 with En 609).[367]

598. **pa-ra-ku** Perhaps *Brakhus* (cf. Βράχυλλος)[368]
Cn 200.1: probable, nominative *wa-wo-u-*[ ]
0/1/1

A shepherd of 160 sheep, which may be headed to *wa-wo-u* (if we restore *wa-wo-u-*[*de*]).

599. ***pa-ra-we-u** Uncertain
pa-ra-we-wo
An 37.2: possible, genitive none
Vn 20.2: possible, genitive none
Identification tenuous 0/2/0

On Vn 20, this genitive word modifies the wine (*wo-no*) distributed to various district capitals of the kingdom. On An 37, it modifies an unpreserved word ([ ]*-jo*) in a text which registers small numbers of men at two locations in the HP. If this word is in fact a name, there is no reason to think that it refers to a single individual.[369]

600. **pa-ta** Uncertain
Cn 40.5: certain, dative *e-ko-me-no* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 80 old male sheep.

601. **pa-u-ta**[ Uncertain
Fn 989.1: possible, dative none/not preserved
0/1/0

This word is the only one preserved on Fn 989. It may be a personal name.

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367 On which, see Bennett 1956a, p. 117; Ventris and Chadwick 1956, p. 247.
368 Neumann 1995, p. 156.
369 See Palmer 1994, pp. 75–76 and n. 10.

602. **pa-wa-wo** Probably *Phawāwōn* (cf. Φάων)
Cn 285.10: certain, nominative *ro-u-so* (HP)
Vn 493.2: certain, nominative *ti-mi-to-a-ko* (FP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A herder of a flock of unknown composition on Cn 285. On Vn 493 he appears in a herding context, where he is listed against 20 goats at *ti-mi-ti-ja*, a spelling variant of *ti-mi-to-a-ko*. These two toponyms are not necessarily very distant.[370] See section 3.2.1.

PE

603. **pe-ki-ta** Uncertain
En 74.3: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
En 74.23: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
pẹ-ḳị-ta
Eo 276.2: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
]pe-ki-ta
Eo 160.3: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A landholder identified as the royal fuller (*ka-na-pe-u , wa-na-ka-te-ro*), *pe-ki-ta* holds two plots of *ki-ti-me-na* land, one from *ru-*83* (GRA T 1) and another from *pi-ke-re-u* (GRA T 2).

604. **pe-ṃẹ** Uncertain
Ae 26: probable, dative none
0/1/1

Ae 26 is a simple personnel register which records that the servants of *ko-ru-da-ro* are *o-pi , pe-ṃẹ*. Thus, this individual, if indeed *pe-ṃẹ* is a personal name, acts as a supervisor of these men (of which there are at least four).[371]

605. **pe-po-ro** Πέπλος[372]
Jn 601.5: certain, nominative *po-wi-te-ja*
1/1/1

[370] If *ro-u-so* is in the region of modern Koukounara (Bennet 1999, p. 147), then it is less than 20 km away from Nichoria (*ti-mi-to-a-ko*) along modern roads.
[371] Morpurgo Davies 1983, p. 292; Aura Jorro 1993, p. 37, s.v. *o-pi*.
[372] García Ramón 2011, p. 228.

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4.

606. ***pe-qe-ro** Uncertain
pe-qe-ro-jo
Sa 768: certain, genitive none
pe-qe-ro-jo
Sa 793 *r.orig.*: certain, genitive none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This individual is responsible for work on a pair of serviceable chariot wheels with a border (ROTA+*TE*) on Sa 768 and the *recto originalis* of Sa 793.

607. **pe-qe-u** Perhaps *Pek^w^eus*
Jn 693.10: certain, nominative *a-pu₂* (HP)
pe-qe-we
Cn 45.5: certain, dative *u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja* (FP)
Fn 79.9: certain, dative none
Identification probable (Cn), tenuous (Fn 79) 1/3/2

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 693, *pe-qe-u* appears on Cn 45 as a herder of 65 female sheep with *a-ke-o* as his "collector." On Fn 79, a man of the same name receives grain (HORD T 1 V 4). The prosopographical identification of the smith and shepherd is probable (see section 3.1.2), although the toponyms are not proximate. The prosopographical identification of the smith/shepherd with the man on Fn 79 is tenuous (see section 3.2.7).

608. **pe-ra₂[**
Vn 34.7: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

This is the beginning of a man's name in the genitive, followed by a woman's name in the nominative or dative (not preserved).

609. **pe-re-ku-ta** Uncertain
An 172.2: possible, nominative none
0/1/0

This word appears to belong to the header of An 172, which is only partially preserved. It is possible that this is not a personal name, but rather an adjective *presgutās*, meaning "old man."[373]

[373] Leukart 1994, p. 164.

610. **pe-re-ku wa-na-ka** Perhaps *Presguwanaks*[374]
Va 15 *v.*: probable, nominative *pu-ro* (HP)
pe-re-ku⌞ ⌟wa-na-ka
Va 15.2: probable, nominative *pu-ro* (HP)
Identification certain 0/1/1

The identification of this word as a personal name is problematic, since there is a change in the size of the signs between *pe-re-ku* and *wa-na-ka* on the *verso* of the tablet. See above, s.v. *e-ti-wa-jo*.

**pe-re-qo-ni-jo** see *pe-re-qo-no*

611. **pe-re-qo-no** Probably *Pēlek$^{w}$honos*[375]
Jn 725.3: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
pe-re-qo-no-jo
Ea 270: certain, genitive none
Jn 605.10: certain, genitive *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (HP)
pe-re-qo-ni-jo
An 656.6: certain, patronymic *ne-wo-ki-to* (HP)
Identification certain (Jn), probable (Ea) 1/2/1

A smith with two servants on Jn 605, *pe-re-qo-no* also has a *ta-ra-si-ja* of unspecified amount on the preliminary text Jn 725. For prosopographical identification of these two names, see section 3.1.1. *pe-re-qo-no* also appears in the genitive on Ea 270, where he is described as a cowherd (genitive *qo-qo-ta-o*). In fact, *pe-re-qo-no* is probably *the* cowherd of the Ea series.[376] If so, land from him is held by *a-pi-$a_2$-ro* (Ea 270), *ke-re-te-u* (Ea 305), *e-u-me-ne* (Ea 757), and *ra-wo-do-ko* (Ea 802). The connection between the smith and the cowherd in the Ea series is probable (see section 3.1.10). Further, the patronymic *pe-re-qo-ni-jo* appears on An 656.6, modifying the *hek$^{w}$etās* named *a-re-i-jo*. It is therefore possible that *pe-re-qo-no* is the father of an *e-qe-ta* (section 3.1.3).

612. **pe-re-qo-ta** *Pēlek$^{w}$hontās*[377]
An 192.12: certain, nominative none
Eb 159.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
En 659.5: certain, dative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
pe-]ṛẹ-qo-ta
Ep 613.10: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)

[374] The alternative, *Peleku-wanaks*, is less likely (Neumann 1995, p. 135 and n. 13).
[375] But see Leukart 1994, pp. 52–53; Kölligan 2002.
[376] Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 130.
[377] But see Leukart 1994, pp. 52–53; Kölligan 2002.

qe-re-qo-ta-o
En 659.1: certain, genitive — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
En 659.2: certain, genitive — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
[pe-re-qo-ta-o]
Eo 444.1: certain, genitive — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain — 1/1/1

This individual is one of the *telestai* of *Sphagiānes*. A number of individuals hold plots of *ki-ti-me-na* from him; one of these, *ta-ra$_2$-to*, appears with *pe-re-qo-ta* on An 192. He is also a landholder and *pa-de-we-u* on Ep 613, where he holds *ka-ma* land (GRA 1). On An 192, he appears as a *pa-da-je-*[*u*], thus securing the prosopographical identification with the *te-re-ta* and landholder. See section 4.1.

613. **pe-re-ta** Uncertain
Jn 658.8: certain, nominative — *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Jn 725.6: certain, nominative — *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Identification certain — 1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5 on Jn 658, *pe-re-ta* also appears on the preliminary text Jn 725 with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of unspecified amount. On prosopographical identification, see sections 2.2, 3.1.1.

614. **pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo** *Pleurōnios*[378]
An 656.16: certain, nominative — *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

This *hek$^w$etās* is attached to the military unit (*o-ka*) of *du-wo-jo* at *a-ke-re-wa*.

615. **pe-re-wa-ta** Uncertain
An 129.3: certain, nominative — none
1/1/1

This individual is with (*pa-ro*) a man named *ti-ko-jo*.

616. **pe-ri-me-de** Περιμήδης
An 656.12: certain, nominative — *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
pe-ri-me-de-o
Aq 64.7: certain, genitive — none
Identification certain — 1/1/1

378 Rowers are sent to *Pleurōn* on An 1 (Killen 1983a); cf. a town by the same name in Aitolia (*Il.* 2.639).

This man is an officer in the *o-ka* of *du-wo-jo* at *a-ke-re-wa*. On Aq 64, he appears in the genitive in the entry *pe-ri-me-de-o , i-*6̣5 , po-so-ri-jo-no , te-ra-ni-ja*. *i-*6̣5* is the word "son," and *te-ra-ni-ja* is probably a title;[379] the question is why there are two personal names in the genitive (*pe-ri-me-de-o* and *po-so-ri-jo-no*). Either one of them is a mistake for the nominative, or the entry reads, "the son of *Perimēdēs*, the *te-ra-ni-ja* of *Psoliōn*." The genitive *pe-ri-me-de-o* must modify *i-*6̣5*, based on the parallel constructions on Aq 218. Since we have only one example of titles modified by genitive personal names (*do-e-ro*), I find it likely that *po-so-ri-jo-no* is a scribal error for *po-so-ri-jo*. See below s.v. *po-so-ri-jo*. Thus, the son of *pe-ri-me-de* is plausibly *po-so-ri-jo*, who is listed against one pair (*ZE*) and 12 units of **171*, the most preserved in the Aq series. For prosopographical identification, see section 4.1.

617. **pe-ri-mo** *Perimos*[380]
Aq 64.6: certain, nominative none (*ti-mi-to-a-ko*)
1/1/1

*Perimos* is identified as the *koretēr* of *ti-mi-to-a-ko* on Aq 64. As such, he also appears on Jo 438.10, where he provides P 4 (80 g) of gold to the palace, and On 300.10, where he receives 3 skins (**154*) from the palace.

618. **pe-ri-no** Perhaps *Perinos*
An 654.12: certain, nominative none[381]
Jn 706.3: certain, nominative *pa-to-wo-te*
Identification probable 1/2/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5 or 6 (only three marks on the upper row are preserved) on Jn 706, *pe-ri-no* is also an officer in the *o-ka* of *ta-ti-qo-we* on An 654. For prosopographical identification, see section 3.1.3.

619. **pe-ri-qo-ta** Probably *Perik$^w$oltās*[382]
Jn 693.7: certain, nominative *a-pu*$_2$ (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4.

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[379] See Aura Jorro 1993, pp. 334–335, s.v. *te-ra-ni-ja*; other possibilities include a toponym and the object of the verb *a-ke-re-se*. This word only appears on this text.
[380] García Ramón 2011, p. 222. See too Shelmerdine 2005.
[381] Lang (1990, p. 121) takes *wa-wo-u-de* (An 654.15) as an allative.
[382] Leukart 1994, p. 63.

620. **pe-ri-ra-wo** *Perilāwos* (cf. Περίλαος)[383]
An 654.13: certain, nominative none[384]
1/1/1

An officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ta-ti-qo-we*.

621. **pe-ri-te** Uncertain[385]
Vn 130.2: certain, dative *me-ta-pa* (HP)
1/1/1

One vessel is with (*pa-ro*) this man at *me-ta-pa*.

622. **pe-ri-te-u** Uncertain[386]
An 654.1: certain, nominative HP (*me-ta-pa*?)
1/1/1

The first officer listed in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ku-ru-me-no*.

623. **]pe-se-to** Uncertain
Cn 491.5: certain, nominative? not preserved

A herder of 46 female goats. It may be possible to read ]-*pe-se-to* or even ]*ẉẹ-pe-se-to*. Cf. *o-pe-se-to* (Cn 600.11).

624. **pe-ta-ro** Πέταλος
Jn 310.9: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

PI

625. **pi-ja-ma-so** Uncertain
Fn 324.11: certain, dative none
1/1/1

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383 Neumann 1995, p. 140.

384 Lang (1990, p. 121) takes *wa-wo-u-de* (An 654.15) as an allative.

385 Leukart 1994, p. 206, derives it from an ethnicon *Perins* (cf. Πέρινθος, a city in Thrace, and the man's name Περίνθιος).

386 Ruijgh 1967, p. 257 n. 116 proposes *Peristheus* (hypocoristic of *Peristhenēs vel sim.*). But Leukart (1994, p. 206; see too Ilievski 1996, p. 53) derives it from an ethnicon *Perins* (cf. Πέρινθος, a city in Thrace, and the man's name Περίνθιος).

A recipient of grain (HORD T 1).

626. **pi-ke-re-u** Probably *Pikreus*[387]
Eb 496.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
pị-ke-re-u
Ep 301.8: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
pi-ke-re-we
Eo 160.2: certain, dative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 160.4: certain, dative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
pi-ke-ṛẹ-we
Eo 160.3A: certain, dative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
pi-ke-re-wo
En 74.20: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
En 74.21: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 160.1: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is one of the *telestai* of *Sphagiānes*. Plots of *ki-ti-me-na* land from him are held by three leaseholders on En 74/Eo 160. On Ep 301/Eb 496, he is listed as a *ko-to-no-o-ko* who holds a plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land (GRA T 4[).

627. ***pi-ke-te** Perhaps *Philkertēs*[388]
pi-ke-te-i
Gn 720.1: certain, dative *da-ka-ka-pi*
1/1/1

This man is allocated 10 units of wine (288 liters).

628. **]pị-ḳị-[·]-wo**
Cn 441.4: probable, nominative/dative not preserved
0/1/1

*pị-ḳị*[-]*ṇụ-wo* is not an excluded reading for this name (cf. *pi-ki-nu-wo*, KN Da 5217). He is probably a herder of 10 penned female goats. As the two entries above are located at *a-ke-re-u*, perhaps this individual is as well.

629. **]pị-ko**
Cn 570.5: probable, dative? not preserved
0/1/1

A herder; his flock's size and composition are not preserved.

[387] Leukart 1994, p. 241.
[388] Aura Jorro 1993, p. 120 n. 2, s.v. *pi-ke-te-i*, with references.

630. **pi-me-ta** Uncertain
Cn 131.2: certain, dative *pi-*82* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 200 penned male sheep.

631. **pi-ra-jo** Φίλαιος
Ae 264: certain, nominative none
Un 249.1: certain, nominative or dative none
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

On Ae 264, this man is identified as a goatherd (*a₃-ki-pa-ta*) who is responsible for doing something (*su-ra-se*) to the *me-tu-ra* (probably livestock) of *du-ni-jo*. On Un 249, he is a Potnian unguent-boiler to whom cyperus and other materials are given. The lack of overlap makes prosopographical identification impossible to prove (see section 4.8).

632. **pi-ra-me-no** *Phīlamenos* or *Phillamenos*
Jn 389.2: certain, nominative *a-ka-si-jo-ne*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 3.

633. **pi-re-ṭạ** Φιλήτας
Fn 324.17: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD V 1).

634. **pi-ri-ja-me-jạ** *Priameiās* (cf. Πρίαμος)[389]
An 39 *v*.6: certain, nominative or dative none
pi-ri[
Fn 837.1: probable, dative none
Identification probable 1/2/1

This man appears in a personnel register on An 39, and probably recurs on Fn 837 as a recipient of grain (the amount he is given is not preserved). A number of individuals recur on An 39 and Fn 837, including *a-ko-so-ta* and *pu-ko-ro*. The connections between An 39 and other texts in the Fn series suggest prosopographical identification (see section 4.3).

389 See von Kamptz 1982, p. 343.

635. **pi-ri-ta** Φιλίστα[390]
Vn 34.4: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This woman is listed against the man's name *de-ki-si-wo* in the genitive.

636. **pi-ri-ta-wo** Perhaps *Philistāwōn*
pi-ṛị-ta-wo
Eo 371.B: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
pi-ri-ta-wo-no
En 467.5: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is one of the *telestai* of *pa-ki-ja-ne* (his landholdings total GRA 1 T 1), and he is also the royal potter (*ke-ra-me-wo , wa-na-ka-te-ro*).

637. **pi-ro-ka-te** *Philogāthēs* (cf. Φιλογήθης)[391]
Jn 832.10: certain, nominative *a-to-mo?*
1/1/1

A smith designated as a decorator (*a-ḳẹ-te* for *a-ke-te-re, askēteres*, cf. ἀσκητής).

638. **pi-ro-na** Probably *Philōnā*
Ep 539.1: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
1/1/1

A female servant of the god, *Philōnā* holds a plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land (the amount is unpreserved).

639. **pi-ro-ne-ta** Probably *Philonestās*[392]
Jn 658.3: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5 on Jn 658. He is the only smith on Jn 658 who does not also appear on the preliminary text Jn 725. Perhaps, then, he should be identified with the smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* identified only as the son of *wa-ti-ko-ro* on Jn 725.8, as Lejeune has argued.[393]

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390 Leukart 1994, p. 215.
391 Neumann 1995, p. 151.
392 Leukart 1994, pp. 67–68.
393 Lejeune 1971, p. 186 n. 81.

640. **pi-ro-pa-ta-ra** Φιλοπάτρα
Vn 34.5: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This woman is listed against the man's name *a-ta-o* (in the genitive), possibly the same man who is a smith and supervisor on An 340.

641. **pi-ro-qo-ṛọ[** Perhaps *Philokʷolos*[394]
Cn 254.8: certain, nominative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

A herder of 40 animals (the ideogram is not preserved).

642. **pi-ro-ta-wo** Perhaps *Philothāwos*[395]
Es 644.12: certain, nominative none
Es 650 *v*.3: certain, nominative none
Es 651.1: certain, nominative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is one of the landholders and contributors in the Es series. He has a landholding of GRA 1 T 2.

643. **pi-ro-te-ko-to** *Philotektōn*
Es 650 *v*.5: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This individual is one of the landholders in the Es series. The size of his landholding has been erased; perhaps it is GRA 2. I find the reading *pi-ro te-ko-to* ("*Philōn* the builder") unlikely; among other things, *te-ko-to* (*tektōn*) is only attested as a professional term at Knossos. At Pylos, the equivalent term, which is only attested at Pylos, seems to be *to-ko-do-mo* (*toikhodomos*).

644. **pi-ro-we-ko** *Philowergos* (cf. Φιλόεργος)
Jn 389.12: certain, nominative *a-ka-si-jo-ne*
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

394 Aura Jorro 1993, p. 128 n. 1, s.v. *pi-ro-qo-ṛọ[*.
395 Ruijgh 1967, p. 375.

645. **pi-ṛọ-ẉọ-na** *Philowoinās* (cf. Φίλοινος)[396]
Ae 344: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man is simply listed as the son of *wi-do-wo-i-jo*.

646. **]p̣ị-ta**
Cn 491.3: probable, nominative? not preserved

A shepherd of 10 or more female sheep. The reading ]*ẉị-ta* is also a possibility (cf. *ka-wi-ta*, Cn 600).

647. **pi-ta-ke-u** Probably *Pithākeus* (cf. Πίθακος)
Jn 389.5: certain, nominative *a-ka-si-jo-ne*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

648. **pi-wa-to** Uncertain
An 31.4: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man is listed in a fragmentary personnel register.

649. **pi-we-ri-ja-ta** *Piweriātās* (cf. Πιερίων)[397]
Jn 389.3: certain, nominative *a-ka-si-jo-ne*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

## PO

650. ***po-ke-u** Perhaps Φωκεύς
po-ke-we
Cn 131.8: certain, dative *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 27 penned female sheep.

396 García Ramón 2005a, p. 103.
397 Leukart 1994, p. 184.

651. **po-ki[**
Xn 593.2: probable, case uncertain none/not preserved

This probable personal name appears in very fragmentary context.

652. **po-ki-ro-qo** *Poikilok$^{w}$s*
An 654.12: certain, nominative none[398]
Aq 64.8: certain, nominative none
Jo 438.22: certain, nominative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is an officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ta-ti-qo-we* on An 654. The name recurs on Aq 64, where he is described as an *e-qe-o , a-to-mo*.[399] On Jo 438, he appears without any modifier as a contributor of a relatively large amount of gold (AUR N 1). The overlap between the *o-ka* series, the Aq diptych and Jo 438 is great enough to make prosopographical identification certain (see section 4.1).

653. **po-ko-ro** Uncertain
Cn 45.7: certain, dative *u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja* (FP)
Cn 131.9: certain, dative *ma-ro* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A shepherd of 100 male sheep on Cn 131 and of 20 female sheep on Cn 45. The flocks are not geographically proximate. For prosopographical identification, see section 3.2.1.

654. **po-ma-ko** Ποίμαρχος
Cn 45.13: certain, nominative none[400]
1/1/1

A herder of 16 female pigs.

398 Lang (1990, p. 121) takes *wa-wo-u-de* (An 654.15) as an allative.

399 The meaning of this term is difficult to interpret, but it seems most likely that the first element is a genitive singular or plural formed from *hek$^{w}$os*, "retinue," perhaps relating to the title *hek$^{w}$etās* (Aura Jorro 1985, pp. 229–230, s.v. *e-qe-o*). This is consistent with the association of the *hek$^{w}$etās* with the *o-ka* set and its connections to the Aq diptych.

400 No toponym is given; perhaps we are meant to understand *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo*, the toponym from the previous entry, but the format of this text is to list toponyms individually for the shepherds.

655. **po-no-qa-ta** *Ponok$^{w}$astās*[401]
Fn 324.15: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD V 1).

656. **po-ri-ko** Uncertain
Cn 328.11: certain, nominative *a-ka-na-jo* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 170 penned male sheep.

657. **po-ro-ko** Uncertain
Jn 725.5: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
po-]ṛọ-ko
Jn 658.6: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5 on Jn 658, and a *ta-ra-si-ja* of unspecified amount on Jn 725. See sections 2.2, 3.1.1.

658. **po-ro-qa-ta-jo** Perhaps *Prog$^{w}$ataios*
Cn 655.15: certain, nominative *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 63 female sheep with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector."

659. **po-ro-te-u** Πρωτεύς
Eq 146.3: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

A landholder on Eq 146 (GRA 1). He may be a *telestās*, if the fragmentary first line of Eq 146 is the tablet's header.

660. **po-ro-u-jo** Probably *Plowyos* (cf. Πλοῦς)
Jn 658.5: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Jn 725.5: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5 on Jn 658, and a *ta-ra-si-ja* of unspecified amount on Jn 725. See sections 2.2, 3.1.1.

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401 Leukart 1994, p. 92 n. 160; García Ramón 2000a, p. 168; Kölligan 2012.

661. **po-ro-u-te-u** *Plouteus* (cf. Πλουτᾶς, Πλουτίας)[402]
Jn 310.5: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
po-ro-ụ[-te-]u
Vn 493.4: certain, nominative *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi* (FP)
po-ro-u-te-we
Cn 131.5: certain, dative *pi-*82* (HP)
po-ro-u-te-wo
Jn 310.12: certain, genitive *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

*Plouteus* is a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2 and one servant on Jn 310; on Cn 131 he herds a flock of 90 penned male sheep. For the prosopographical identification of the smith with the shepherd, see section 3.1.2. On Vn 493 he is collecting goats in the Further Province. For the prosopographical identification of the shepherd with the individual in Vn 493, see section 3.2.2.

662. **po-ru-da-si-jo** Probably *Poludaisios* (cf. Πολυδαίτας)[403]
Aq 218.13: certain, patronymic

A patronymic attached to the fragmentary name ]*me-ta* on Aq 218.[404]

**po-ru-e-ro** see above, s.v. *o-ru-we-ro*

663. **po-ru-qo-ta** Probably *Polukʷhontās* or *Polukʷoitās*[405]
Cn 40.4: certain, dative *wa-no-jo wo-wo* (HP)
po-ru-qo-ṭạ[
Cn 437.3: certain, nominative ]*wo-wo*
p̣ọ-ru-qo-ta
Jn 845.2: certain, nominative not preserved
Identification certain 1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2 on Jn 845, *po-ru-qo-ta* also appears on two Cn texts, possibly with his herds located at the same place (Cn 40 locates his herd at *wa-no-jo wo-wo*, Cn 437 at ]*wo-wo*). On Cn 40 he herds 60 male sheep with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector." On Cn 437 he herds at least 54 animals (the ideogram is not preserved). For prosopographical identification, see sections 3.1.2 and 3.2.1.

402 Neumann 1995, p. 148.
403 Leukart 1994, p. 102; García Ramón 2002, p. 438.
404 The word *po-ru-da-si-jo* shows up also at Knossos (V 118) modifying two *a₂-ke-te-re*. This word is obscure, but the *-te-re* ending suggests an agentive suffix *-tēr*, indicating human agents. This perhaps provides another link between high-status names between Knossos and Pylos (Olivier 2001).
405 Leukart 1994, p. 65.

664. **po-ru-to** Perhaps *Polustos* (cf. Πολύστας)[406]
An 5.4: certain, nominative *te-ko-to-a-pe* (FP)
1/1/1

This man appears in a personnel register.

665. ***po-ru-we-u** Perhaps *Poluweus*
po-ru-we-wo
Sa 796: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

This individual is responsible for work on two pairs of serviceable chariot wheels with a border (ROTA+*TE*).

666. ***po-so-pe-re** Probably *Posophelēs*[407]
po-so-pe-re-i
Cn 40.2: certain, dative *wa-no-jo wo-wo* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 75 young male sheep.

667. **po-so-ra-ko** *Psolarkhos* (cf. Ψολέας)[408]
Jn 725.8: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of unspecified amount on Jn 725.

668. **po-so-re-ja** Probably *Psoleiā*
En 609.17: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 224.7: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 539.4–5: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
po-]ṣọ-re[-ja
Ep 613.12: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
po-so-]re-ja
Eb 173.2: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This woman is a servant of the god who holds several plots of land. On En 609, she holds a plot of *ki-ti-me-na* land from *a-ma-ru-ta*, but the same plot on Eo 224 is from *ta-ta-ro* (GRA T 1 V 3). On Ep 539, she holds two

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406 Neumann 1995, p. 139 n. 27; Ilievski 1996, p. 62.
407 Neumann 1995, p. 141.
408 García Ramón 2005b, p. 95.

*ke-ke-me-na* plots of unpreserved size, one from the *dāmos* and another from an unnamed *ka-ma-e-u*. On Ep 613/Eb 173, she holds a *ke-ke-me-na* plot of land from *pa-ra-ko* (GRA T 1 V 3). For prosopographical identification, see section 4.2.

669. **po-so-ri-jo** *Psoliōn* (cf. Ψόλων)
Jo 438 *lat.sin.*: certain, nominative none
po-so-ri-jọ[
Jn 601.12: certain, nominative *po-wi-te-ja*
po-so-ri-jo-no
Aq 64.7: certain, genitive none
Identification certain (Aq, Jo), possible (Jn) 1/2/2

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 601, *po-so-ri-jo* appears on Aq 64 in the following entry:

*pe-ri-me-de-o , i-*65 , po-so-ri-jo-no , te-ra-ni-ja , a-ke-se-re , to-to-we-to , *171* 12

I suggested above (s.v. *pe-ri-me-de*) that *po-so-ri-jo-no* is a scribal error for the nominative *po-so-ri-jo*, who is the son (*i-*65*) of *pe-ri-me-de*. *po-so-ri-jo* also appears on Jo 438's *latus sinistrum*. That this man is the same as the *po-so-ri-jo* of Aq 64 is shown by the dense web of connections between the Aq texts and Jo 438 (section 4.1). The prosopographical identification between this individual and the smith is merely a possibility.

670. **po-so-ro** Probably Ψόλων[409]
Jn 601.5: certain, nominative *po-wi-te-ja*
Jn 750.3: certain, nominative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
Jn 845.11: certain, nominative not preserved
pọ-so-ro
An 1281.6: certain, nominative none
Identification certain (Jn), probable (An) 1/2/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 601 (AES M 8) and on Jn 750 (AES M 1 N 2), *po-so-ro* is without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 845. On An 1281, he is allocated to the woman *me-ta-ka-wa*. For the prosopographical identification of the multiple instances of the name in the Jn series, see section 3.1.1; for the probable prosopographical identification of the smith with the individual from An 1281, see section 3.1.7.

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409 Immerwahr 1990, p. 112, no. 774. Another name from the same root may be attested in [Φσ]ολέας (Immerwahr 1990, p. 22, no. 72). Immerwahr (1990, p. 112 n. 13) compares Ψόλων to names derived from ἄσβολος, "dusty" (Ἀσβόλιος, Ἀσβόλις).

671. ***po-te-re-u** Uncertain
po-te-re-we
Fn 187.14: possible, dative — none
0/1/1

A recipient of grain and figs (HORD T 4 *NI* T 4).

672. **po-te-u** Perhaps *Ponteus* or *Portheus*
An 519.7: certain, nominative — *ro-o-wa*? (HP)
Cn 45.13: certain, nominative — none (*pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo*? [FP])
po-te-wo
En 467.3: certain, genitive — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 268: certain, genitive — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification probable (An, Cn), possible (E-) 1/3/2

This individual is an officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ke-wo-no* on An 519. He also appears as a herder of eight female pigs on Cn 45 in the Further Province. Finally, he is one of the *telestai* of *pa-ki-ja-ne*, with holdings of *ki-ti-me-na* land (GRA 2 T 4). For the probable prosopographical identification of the officer and the herder, see section 3.2.3. The prosopographical identification of the herder and the landholder is merely a possibility (section 3.2.6).

673. **po-ti-na-jo** Uncertain
Jn 692.7: certain, nominative — *na-i-se-wi-jo*
⟦po-ti-ṇạ-jo⟧
Jn 725 *r.orig.*20: certain, nominative — *na-i-se-wi-jo*
Identification certain 1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 692, but with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of unspecified amount on the erased *recto originalis* of Jn 725. Cf. ]*ti-na-jo* (Jn 601.11).

674. **po-to-re-ma-ta** *Ptolemātās*
Jn 601.4: certain, nominative — *po-wi-te-ja*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 8. There is a slight possibility that the fragmentary name ]*ṛẹ-ma-ta* (Ep 539.7) should be identified with this smith (there is space for *po-to-*]*ṛẹ-ma-ta*).

PTE

675. **p̣ṭẹ-jo-ḳọ** Uncertain
An 39 *v*.8: certain, nominative or dative none
1/1/1

This man appears in a personnel register.

676. **]pte-we**
La 623: doubtful, dative? *po-to-ro-wa-pi*

Perhaps a personal name in the dative singular (cf. *a-pe-te-u*).[410]

PU

**pu[ ]-a$_2$-ko** see *pu$_2$-si-ja-ko*

677. **pu-ke-se-ro** Uncertain
Jn 845.3: certain, nominative not preserved
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

678. **pu-ko-ro** *Purkoros*
An 39 *v*.4: certain, nominative none
Fn 837.6: certain, dative none
pu-ko-ro[ ]
Jn 478.2: certain, nominative *wi-ja-we-ra$_2$* (HP)
Identification certain (An, Fn), tenuous (Jn) 1/2/2

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 3, *pu-ko-ro* appears on the personnel register An 39. He also appears as the recipient of an unpreserved amount of grain on Fn 837. Given the connections between An 39 and the Fn series, we may view the prosopographical identification of these who individuals as certain (section 4.3), but the prosopographical identification with the smith is tenuous.

410 For discussion, see Melena 2002a, pp. 366–367, who considers its identification as a personal name unlikely.

679. **pu-ko-wo** *Purkowos*
Ep 705.9: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
]ẉọ
Eb 884.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A servant of the god who holds a plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land (GRA T 2) from the *dāmos*.

680. **pu-ma-ra-ko** Uncertain
Cn 643.5: certain, nominative *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of 100 male goats with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector."

681. **pu-ra-ta** Perhaps *Puraltās*[411]
Jn 605.3: certain, nominative *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (HP)
pu-ra-ta-o
Jn 605.11: certain, genitive *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2 and one servant on Jn 605.

682. **pu-ṛụ-da-ka** Uncertain
Ep 539.9: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
[pu-ṛụ-da-ka]
Eb 954: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
1/1/1

A servant of *ka-pa-ti-ja*, this man holds a plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* (GRA T 3 V 3).

683. **pu-te-u** Perhaps Πυθεύς[412]
Jn 431.12: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

**pu-ti-ja** see *pu$_2$-ti-ja*

[411] Leukart 1994, pp. 85–86.
[412] Bechtel [1917] 1964, p. 390.

684. **pu-wa-ne** Probably *Purwānēs*[413]
Jn 832.15: certain, nominative *a-to-mo?*
1/1/1

A smith smith designated as a decorator (*a-ḳẹ-te* for *a-ke-te-re, askēteres*, cf. ἀσκητής) without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

685. **pu-wi-no** *Purwinos* (cf. Πυρρῖνος)
Cn 131.14: certain, dative *ma-ro* (HP)
Cn 655.5: certain, nominative *ma-ro* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A herder of 55 female goats on Cn 131, and of 190 male sheep with *a-pi-me-de* as his "collector" on Cn 655. For prosopographical identification, see section 3.2.1.

686. **pu-za-ko** Perhaps *Phuzakos*[414]
Cn 328.14: certain, nominative *a-ka-na-jo* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of 40 penned male goats.

PU$_2$

687. **pu$_2$-ke-qi-ri** *Phugeg$^w$rīns*[415]
Ta 711.1: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man appears in the header of Ta series as an inspector of an inventory of furniture and feasting equipment: "Thus *Phugeg$^w$rīns* saw when the *wanax* made *Augēwās* the *dāmokoros*." John Bennet suggests that he is Hand 2 at Pylos, the scribe of the Ta series.[416]

688. **pu$_2$-ṣị-ja-ko** Uncertain
Jn 310.17: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
pu[ ]-a$_2$-ko
An 340.7: certain, nominative none
Identification probable 1/2/1

[413] Aura Jorro 1993, p. 176, s.v. *pu-wa-ne*; but see Beekes 2010, vol. 1, p. 116, s.v. ἀπηνής.
[414] García Ramón 2005b, pp. 95–96; cf. Neumann 1995, p. 136.
[415] García Ramón 2009, pp. 10–23. See also Neumann 1992a, p. 441; 1995, p. 142; Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, pp. 194–195.
[416] Bennet 2001, pp. 31–33.

This man is a Potnian smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 310. He may recur on An 340 with (*pa-ro*) the individual named *a-ta-o*, probably in a craft context. For prosopographical identification, see section 3.1.5.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 689. **$pu_2$-ti-ja** | Perhaps *Phuthiās* | | |
| An 656.13: certain, nominative | | *a-ke-re-wa* (HP) | |
| Jn 601.3: certain, nominative | | *po-wi-te-ja* | |
| pu-ti-ja | | | |
| An 340.10: certain, nominative | | none | |
| Qa 1294: possible, nominative | | *a-$pu_2$* (HP) | |
| Identification probable | | | 1/4/1 |

This name is spelled *pu-ti-ja* by Hand 15 (Qa 1294) and Hand 22 (An 340), and *$pu_2$-ti-ja* by the more expert scribes Hand 1 (An 656) and Hand 2 (Jn 601). A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 6, this individual appears in the personnel register An 340, which is closely connected to the Jn series (see section 3.1.5). He is also an officer of the military unit (*o-ka*) of *du-wo-jo* on An 656, and he receives one hide (**189*) at *a-$pu_2$* on Qa 1294.[417] For the probable prosopographical identification of the smith and the military officer, see section 3.1.3; for the individual in the Qa series, see section 4.4.

## QA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 690. ***qa-ko** | Uncertain | | |
| qa-ko-jo | | | |
| Vn 34.6: certain, genitive | | none | |
| | | | 1/1/1 |

A woman listed against the man's name *qa-ko* in the genitive.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 691. **qa-$ra_2$** | *K$^w$allans* (cf. Πάλλας) | | |
| An 192.16: certain, nominative | | none | |
| qa-$ra_2$-te | | | |
| An 39 *v*.3: certain, dative | | none | |
| Fn 7.7: certain, dative | | none | |
| Identification probable | | | 1/3/1 |

This man appears as a recipient of a large amount of agricultural staples (OLIV 6 and an unknown amount of another good, probably the grain HORD) for one month on Fn 7, along with a number of architectural craftsmen. The

[417] *a-ke-re-wa* and *a-$pu_2$* are in adjacent districts.

large quantities of staples suggest that he (along with *pa-ka*) is their supervisor.[418] *Kʷallans* recurs on two An texts, An 39 and 192. Given the extensive overlap between An 39 and the Fn series, we may view this prosopographical identification as probable (see section 4.3). The prosopographical identification with An 192 is more difficult, but seems likely given this man's importance on Fn 7; individuals on An 192 tend to be of high status (section 4.1).

692. ***qa-sa-re** Uncertain
qa-sa-re-o
Sa 755: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

This man is responsible for work on one pair of serviceable chariot wheels with a border (ROTA+*TE*).

QE

693. **]qe-re**
An 435.9: probable, nominative? none
0/1/1

Perhaps the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*.

694. **qe-re-ma-o** *Kʷēlemāhos*[419]
Qa 1295: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man is listed against two hides (**189*). He is identified as a *po-qa-te-u*, a title of uncertain meaning.

695. **qe-re-me-ne-u** Uncertain
Jn 845.13: certain, nominative not preserved
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

**qe-re-qo-ta** see *pe-re-qo-ta*

[418] Melena 1998b, p. 171; Nakassis 2012b, pp. 276–279.
[419] García Ramón in prep. b.

696. **qe-re-wa** *Kʷēlewās* or *Kʷhērewās* (cf. Τηλέας, Θηρέας)[420]
qe-re-wa-o
Cn 655.1: certain, genitive *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 136 old male sheep.

697. **qe-ri-ta** Uncertain
Eb 900.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
qe-ri-ṭạ
Ep 613.17: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A female servant of the god who holds a plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* (GRA T 2).

698. **qe-ta-ko** Uncertain
Cn 45 *lat.inf.*: certain, nominative none
Cn 570.3: certain, dative not preserved
Cn 600.14: certain, nominative *ti-mi-to-a-ko* (FP)
Cn 1287.4: certain, nominative none
Jn 431.3: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
qe-ṭạ-ḳọ-jo
Jn 431.11: certain, genitive *a-pe-ke-e*
Identification certain 1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4, *qe-ta-ko* also has one servant on Jn 431. The name is prominent in the Cn series. On Cn 1287, he is described as a potter (*ke-ra-me-u*, cf. κεραμεύς) who contributes one female goat, probably for ritual consumption. On Cn 45, he apparently herds 11 male pigs. On Cn 570, he is listed with an unpreserved number of female sheep; on Cn 600, he herds 39 male pigs. Lindgren splits *qe-ta-ko* into four separate individuals, but I argue that all occurrences of this individual represent a single individual (sections 2.4, 3.1.1, 3.1.2, 3.2.1).[421]

699. **qe-ta-ra-je-u** *Kʷetraieus*
Jn 845.4: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

[420] García Ramón 2002, pp. 440–441.
[421] Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 102.

700. **qe-ta-wo** Perhaps *K$^{w}$hethāwōn*
Jn 310.2: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

701. **qe-te-re-u** Perhaps *K$^{w}$etreus*
Vn 865.3: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

A man in a list of shipwrights.

702. **qe-to-ro-no** Perhaps *K$^{w}$etrōnos* (cf. Πετράτων)[422]
Jn 431.13: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
qe-ṭọ-ro-no
Jn 431.5: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
Identification probable 1/2/1

This name belongs to a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 7, and to a smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on the same text, Jn 431. The fact that the same man appears twice in two mutually exclusive categories (either one has an allotment, or one does not) either indicates that there are two men with the same name, or that the scribe has made an error. I find this latter possibility more likely, since we have no other examples of a non-identical homonym occurring more than once on any Mycenaean text without some kind of differentiation made by the scribe (see *du-ni-jo* on An 192, for example; cf. *ma-re-u*). See further section 3.1.1.

## QI

703. **qi-ri-ta-ko** Perhaps *G$^{w}$ritharkhos*[423]
Cn 655.11: certain, nominative *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 90 male sheep with *a-ke-o* as his "collector."

704. **qi-si-ja-ko** Probably *K$^{w}$isiarkhos*[424]
Jn 706.6: certain, nominative *pa-to-wo-te*
1/1/1

422 Bechtel [1917] 1964, p. 521.
423 Neumann 1992a, p. 441.
424 Neumann 1995, p. 147 and n. 65.

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja*; the amount is unpreserved.

QO

705. **qo-re-po-ụ-ti** Uncertain
Fn 324.2: certain, dative none
1/1/1

This man is a recipient of grain (HORD T 2 V 4).

706. **qo-ta-wo** Uncertain
An 39 *v*.8: certain, dative none
1/1/1

This man appears in a personnel register.

707. **qo-te-ro** Uncertain[425]
Ae 108: certain, nominative none
An 261.3: certain, nominative none
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

On Ae 108, this man is listed as a goatherd (*a₃-ki-pa-ta*) who keeps watch over the quadrupeds of *ta-ra-ma-ta*. On An 261, he is assigned to the *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) of *o-two-we*.

708. **qo-te-wo** Uncertain
Aq 218.16: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

This man's son is without a plot of land (*a-ko-to-no, aktoinos*) and listed against a pair (*ZE*).

709. **qo-u-ko-ro** *Gʷoukolos* (cf. Βούκολος)
qo-u-ko-ro-jo
Ea 781: probable, genitive none
0/1/1

This man (or is it a title?) holds a plot of *ki-ti-me-na* land (GRA 2 T 4) in the Ea series.[426]

[425] Ilievski 1992, p. 328, suggests *Kʷhonteros.*
[426] For its use here as a name, see Aura Jorro 1993, pp. 210–211, s.v. *qo-u-ko-ro*.

710. **qo-wo[** Uncertain
Jo 438.17: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This possessor of a share [of land] (*mo-ro-qa, mo(i)rokkʷās*) contributes a relatively large amount of gold (AUR N 1) to the palatial authority. It may be possible to read *qo-wo* , [ or *qo-wo-ṣị*[.

RA

**]ra-i-jo** see above, s.v. *a-ra-i-jo*

711. **]ra-i-ka**
Ea 208: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This individual has a landholding from the *dāmos* of GRA T 2.

712. **ra-ja-mo**
Xa 1420.1: possible, case uncertain none/not preserved
0/1/1

This is the only word on this tablet fragment.

713. **ra-ke-u** Uncertain
Cn 254.7: certain, nominative for dative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

This herder has a flock of goats (unknown sex or number) with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector."

714. **ra-ku-ro** Uncertain
Eb 566.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 281.2: certain, dative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 301.9: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
ra-ku-ro-jo
En 659.15: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
[ra-ku-ro-jo]
Eo 281.1: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is a *ktoinohokhos* (*ko-to-no-o-ko*) and one of the *telestai* of *Sphagiānes*. On En 659/Eo 281, he is listed as holding GRA 1 T 1 V 3 of *ki-ti-me-na*

land and leasing GRA V 3 of land to *i-ra-ta*, a servant of the god. On Ep 301/Eb 566, he holds a plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land (the size of which is not preserved).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 715. **ra-ma-jo** | Uncertain | | |
| Cn 285.9: certain, nominative | | *ro-u-so* (HP) | |
| Jn 692.5: certain, nominative | | *na-i-se-wi-jo* (HP) | |
| Jn 725 *r.orig.*19: certain, nominative | | *na-i-se-wi-jo* (HP) | |
| ra-ma-o | | | |
| Ub 1316: certain, nominative | | none | |
| Identification probable (Cn, Jn), possible (Ub) | | | 1/3/2 |

A herder of 20 female goats on Cn 285, *ra-ma-jo* appears as a smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 692, and with a *ta-ra-si-ja* (of unspecified amount) on the *recto originalis* of the preliminary text Jn 725. The locations in the Cn and Jn series are geographically proximate. The prosopographical identification of the herder and the smith is probable (see section 3.1.2). The same name may also be spelled on Ub 1316 as *ra-ma-o*, where is refers to a man who owes eight deerskins from last year. For the possibility of prosopographical identification, see section 4.8.

**ra-ma-o** see *ra-ma-jo*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 716. **ra-mi-ni-jo** | *Lāmnios* (cf. Λήμνιος) | | |
| An 209.2: certain, nominative | | none (*ko-ri-to*?) | |
| Cn 328.4: certain, nominative | | *a-ka-na-jo* (HP) | |
| Cn 719.6: certain, nominative | | *pi-*82* (HP) | |
| Identification certain (Cn), probable (An) | | | 1/2/1 |

This man herds 40 penned female goats on Cn 328, and 90 male sheep on Cn 719 with *a-ke-o* as his "collector." These herds are not proximate. On An 209, a man of the same name appears in a list of Korinthian *statēres*. For the prosopographical identification of the herders, see section 3.2.1; for the herder with the individual from An 209, see section 3.2.3.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 717. **]-ra-o** | | |
| Wa 730.1: doubtful, genitive | | none/not preserved |

The reading ]*ẉọ-ra-o* is not excluded. There is no particular reason to think that this is a name, although it has been suggested.[427]

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427 See Aura Jorro 1993, p. 220, s.v. ]-*ra-o*.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 718. | **ra-pa-do** | *Lampadōn* (cf. Λαμπαδίων) | | |
| | Ea 481.1: certain, nominative | | none | |
| | Ea 481.2: certain, nominative | | none | |
| Identification certain | | | | 1/1/1 |

This individual has two landholdings in the Ea series, both GRA T 1 in size, but one is listed as being of the honey-man (*me-ri-te-wo*) and the other is listed as being of the swineherd (*su-qo-ta-o*).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 719. | **ra-pa-sa-ko** | *Lampsakos*[428] | | |
| | Cn 131.7: certain, dative | | *ma-ro* (HP) | |
| ra-pa-sa-ko-jo | | | | |
| | Cn 655.4: certain, genitive | | *ma-ro* (HP) | |
| Identification certain | | | | 1/1/1 |

This man herds 91 penned male sheep on Cn 131 and 69 male sheep on Cn 655. For prosopographical identification, see section 3.2.1.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 720. | **ra-pe-do** | Uncertain | | |
| | An 654.13: certain, nominative | | none | |
| | | | | 1/1/1 |

This man is an officer of the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ta-ti-qo-we-u*.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 721. | **]ra-so** | | | |
| | Ep 613.20: certain, nominative | | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| | | | | 0/1/1 |

A servant of the god who holds *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos*; the size of the plot is not preserved. Cf. *ku-ka-ra-so*.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 722. | **ra-su-ro** | Uncertain | | |
| | Eb 1174.A: certain, nominative | | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| | En 659.3: certain, nominative | | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| | Ep 212.10: certain, nominative | | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| [ra-su-ro] | | | | |
| | Eo 444.2: certain, nominative | | *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP) | |
| Identification certain | | | | 1/1/1 |

A servant of the god who holds a lease of GRA T 2 *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* on Ep 212/Eb 1174, as well as a lease of GRA T 1 *ki-ti-me-na* land from *qe-re-qo-ta* on En 659/Eo 444.

[428] Neumann 1995, p. 148.

723. **ra-u-ta** Uncertain
Jn 832.2: certain, nominative *ro-u-so* (HP)
ra-ụ-ta
An 5.8: certain, nominative *i-na-ne*
Identification possible 1/2/2

A smith designated as a decorator (*a-ke-te-re, askēteres*, cf. ἀσκητής), *ra-u-ta* also appears on An 5. His name on An 5 is written in another hand, and has either been erased or written lightly after the clay had dried somewhat. An 5 includes two other matches with smiths' names (*to-ro-wi-ka* and *ku-ri-sa-to*), making the prosopographical identification of the man on An 5 with the smith possible.

724. **ra-wo-do-ko** *Lāwodokos* (cf. Δημόδοκος)[429]
Ea 802: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man has a plot of GRA T 3 *ke-ke-me-na* land of the cowherd (*qo-qo-ta-o*).

725. **ra-wo-ke-ta** Perhaps *Lāwokestās*[430]
Jn 478.3: certain, nominative *wi-ja-we-ra*$_2$ (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4.

726. **ra-wo-qo-ta** *Lāwok$^w$hontās*[431]
Jn 750.7: certain, nominative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

## RE

727. **]-re-[**
Fn 324.16: certain, dative none

A recipient of grain (HORD V 2 Z 2). It may be possible to read ]-*re-ḳạ*[.

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[429] Neumann 1995, p. 153.
[430] Leukart 1994, pp. 77–79.
[431] Leukart 1994, p. 52.

728. **]re-[·]-ṣị-jọ[** Uncertain
An 435.15: probable, nominative? none/not preserved

Perhaps the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*.

729. **re-a-mo** Uncertain
An 209.8: certain, nominative none (*ko-ri-to*?)
1/1/1

This man is listed in a register of Korinthian *statēres*.

730. **[ · ]-re-jo-de** Uncertain
Fn 324.3: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD T 1 V 2).

731. **re-ka** Probably *Leskhā* (cf. Λεσχῆς)
Ep 212.1: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
re-ḳạ
Eb 886.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
ṛẹ-ka
Eb 916.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This woman is a servant of the god who holds a plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land (GRA T 6) from the *dāmos* on Ep 212/Eb 916, and another plot of unpreserved size from the *dāmos* on Eb 886 (Eb 886 may correspond to Ep 613.18, in which case the plot would be GRA V 3 in extent).

732. **]ṛẹ-ma-ta** Uncertain
Ep 539.7: certain, dative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)

The man *me-re-u* holds a plot of land (GRA V 2) from this individual, who is listed as a *kamaheus* (*ka-ma-e-u*). There is space in the gap for two signs; the reading [*po-to-*]*ṛẹ-ma-ta* is an attractive supplementation.

733. **re-pi-ri-jo** Λέπριος
Eq 146.4: certain, nominative none/not preserved
1/1/1

This man holds GRA 1 of land. He may be a *telestās*, if *te-re-ta* in Eq 146.1 is plural.

734. **re-qo-we** Uncertain
Jn 845.3: certain, nominative not preserved
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

735. **]-re-ro**
Cn 491.4: probable, nominative? not preserved

A herder of goats (unpreserved number). Cf. *e-te-re-ro*.

736. **re-si-wo** Uncertain
An 1281.9: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man appears to be allocated to the deity Potnia in a craft production context.

737. **re-ta-mo** Uncertain
Cn 285.3: certain, nominative *ro-u-so* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of male goats (unpreserved number).

738. **]-re-u**
Jn 320.15: certain, nominative *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-ụ*

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

739. **re-u-ka-so** Probably *Leukasos*
Pa 53: certain, dative none
1/1/1

This man is listed as having seven *ḌẸ *169* in his possession (*pa-ro re-u-ka-so*). The commodities are probably beds, in which case *re-u-ka-so* is involved in their production or distribution.

740. **re-u-ka-ta** *Leukātās*[432]
Jn 658.6: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Jn 725.7: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

[432] Leukart 1994, p. 179.

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5 on Jn 658, and with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of unspecified amount on the preliminary text Jn 725. See sections 2.2, 3.1.1.

741. **re-u-ka-ta-ra-ja** Perhaps *Leuktraiā*
Vn 851.12: certain, dative none
1/1/1

This woman is probably allocated *de-mi-ni-ja* (probably beds); how many is not preserved.

742. **]ṛẹ-u-ko** Λεῦκος, if complete
An 615.13: probable, nominative not preserved
0/1/1

This man appears to be counted in a fragmentary personnel register.

743. **re-u-ko-ro-o-pu$_2$-ru** *Leukophrus*[433]
Jn 415.2: certain, nominative *ru-ko-a$_2$-ke-re-u-te*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5.

744. **re-u-ko-to** Uncertain
Un 1319.3: possible, case uncertain none
0/1/0

Possibly a man's name. This word is listed against various types of grain (GRA).

745. **re-u-si-wo** Uncertain
Jn 692.6: certain, nominative *na-i-se-wi-jo* (HP)
Jn 725 *r.orig.*19: certain, nominative *na-i-se-wi-jo* (HP)
re-u-si-wo-qe
An 1281.3: certain, nominative none
Identification probable 1/2/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 692, and with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of unspecified amount on the *recto originalis* of the preliminary text Jn 725 (see section 3.1.1). On An 1281, he appears to be allocated together with *a-ka* to the seat of Potnia in the context of craft production. For a discussion of the

433 Cf. Λευκοκόμας.

probable prosopographical identification of smiths with individuals on An 1281, see section 3.1.7.

746. **re-wa-o** Uncertain
Fn 324.13: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of HORD T 1 V 2.

RI

747. **ri-ja-ko** Uncertain
Jn 692.2: certain, nominative *na-i-se-wi-jo* (HP)
Jn 725 *r.orig*.19: certain, nominative *na-i-se-wi-jo* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 6 on Jn 692, and with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of unspecified amount on the *recto originalis* of the preliminary text Jn 725. See section 3.1.1.

748. **]ri-jo**
Cn 570.2: possible, dative none/not preserved

Possibly the end of a man's name, or perhaps a place-name (cf. *ri-jo*).

749. **ri-ḳụ-we** Uncertain
ṛị-ḳụ-we
Jn 692.6: certain, nominative *na-i-se-wi-jo* (HP)
ri-ḳụ-we
Jn 725 *r.orig*.20: certain, nominative *na-i-se-wi-jo* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 692, and with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of unspecified amount on the *recto originalis* of the preliminary text Jn 725. See sections 2.2, 3.1.1.

750. **ri-zo** Uncertain
An 261.9: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man is assigned to the *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) of *a-pi-jo*.

RO

751. **]ro**
An 1281.10: probable, nominative none

Probably the name of a man assigned to **au-ke-i-ja-te-u*.

752. **]-ro**
Jn 693.2: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)

The name of a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4 (possibly *ạ*[ ]*ẉọ-ro* or *ạ*[ ]*ḳọ-ro*).

753. **]-ro**
An 614.3: possible, case uncertain none/not preserved

Possibly the name of a *hekʷetās* in a document recording the presence of men in military context (possibly ]*ṇạ-ro*).

754. **]ṛọ-jọ[**
An 435.8: probable, nominiative? none/not preserved

Perhaps the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*. The reading ]*ṣị-jọ* is not excluded.

755. **]-ṛọ-jọ**
An 435.14: probable, nominative? none/not preserved

Perhaps the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*.

756. **ro-ko** Uncertain
Cn 40.8: certain, dative *ma-ro* (HP)
ṛọ-ḳọ-jọ
Cn 655.13: certain, genitive *ma-ro* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A shepherd of 150 old male sheep on Cn 40, and a flock of 80 sheep (probably; the ideogram is missing) with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector" on Cn 655. Both flocks are located at *ma-ro*. See section 3.2.1.

757. **ro-u-ko** Probably *Loukos*
An 519.15: certain, nominative near *ro-o-wa* (HP)
ro-]u-ko
Aq 218.4: certain, nominative *me-ta-pa* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A *hek$^w$etās* on An 519, the son of **ku-sa-me-no*. On Aq 218, he appears in a list with at least two other *hek$^w$etai*. For prosopographical identification, see section 4.1.

758. **ro-wo** Perhaps *Rowos*
Jn 750.3: certain, nominative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

RU

759. ]**ru**-[ ]
Fn 324.8: certain, dative none

A recipient of grain (HORD T 1 V 2). It may be possible to read ]*ru-ẉọ*[. Lindgren proposed the restoration [*e-u-*]*ru-*[*po-to-re-mo*].[434]

760. ]-**ru-ke-ja**
Vn 851.5: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of one unit of *de-mi-ni-ja* (probably beds).

761. **ru-ki-ja** Uncertain
An 724.13: possible, case uncertain *wo-qe-we*?
0/1/0

Possibly the name of a man who appears on a text recording absent rowers in a military context.

762. **ru-ki-jo** Λύκιος
Gn 720.2: certain, dative *i-ka-sa-ja*?
Jn 415.11: certain, nominative *ru-ko-a$_2$-ḳẹ-re-u-te* (HP)
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 415, *ru-ki-jo* is listed on Gn 720, where he receives nine units of wine (259.2 liters).[435] All the other words on the tablet are *hapax legomena*, and no other smith appears on the Gn series.

434 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 55.
435 See Palmer 1994, pp. 83–84, on this text.

763. **ru-ko** Λύκος or Λύκων
Pn 30.4: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man has provided 13 units of **169* (probably beds) to *a-ko-so-ta*, and owes an unpreserved amount still. He is probably the supervisor of a work group that produces beds.

764. **ru-ko-ro** Perhaps *Lugros*
Ea 132: certain, nominative none
Ea 782: certain, nominative none
Ea 799: certain, nominative none
ṛụ-ḳọ-ro
An 1281.13: certain, nominative none
]ṛụ-ko-ro
Ea 1424.a: certain, dative none
]ru-ko-ro
Ea 882: certain, dative none
ru-ko-ro-jo
Ea 823: certain, genitive none
Identification certain (Ea), tenuous (An) 1/2/2

This name appears often in the Ea series. In every text but one (Ea 799) *ru-ko-ro* is identified as *lāwāgesian*. On Ea 132 he holds a *ko-to-na* of the swineherd (GRA T 1); on Ea 782, a *ko-to-na* of a herdsman (GRA T 1) from *mo-ro-qo-ro*, elsewhere identified as the herdsman (*po-me*); on Ea 799 he holds a *ko-to-na* of the honey-man (*me-ri-te-u*, GRA T 3), on Ea 823 a *ko-to-na* (GRA T 6), and Ea 882 only preserves his name, the adjective *ra-wa-ke-si-jo* and the GRA ideogram. It may be that Ea 823 totals all of his holdings, in which case Ea 882 would have recorded a plot of GRA T 1. On Ea 1424, a *lāwāgesian* man with a fragmentary name (]*de-u*) holds a plot of land (whose size is not preserved) from *ru-ko-ro*. An 1281 records the allocation of *ru-ko-ro* to *a-pi-e-ra*, whose servants receive rations on Fn 50. The prosopographical identification of this individual with the landholder in the Ea series is tenuous (section 4.2.2).

**ru-ko-u-ro** see *ru-ko-wo-ro*

765. **ru-ko-wo-ro** *Lukoworos*/*Lukowros*
Es 650 *v*.1: certain, nominative none
ru-ko-u-ro
Es 729.1: certain, nominative none
[ru-ko-u-ro]
Es 644.10: certain, nominative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is one of the landowners and contributors to Poseidon in the Es series; his landholding of GRA 1 T 4 is average for the Es series.

766. **ru-na** Perhaps *Lurnās*[436]
Un 1320.9: certain, dative none/not preserved
1/1/1

This individual is said to have one unit of *A* in his possession.

767. **ru-ro** Λύρων
Aq 64.4: certain, nominative none
Jo 438.6: certain, nominative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This individual appears in the first paragraph of Aq 64 and on Jo 438, where he gives AUR N 1. In both texts he is identified as a *mo-ro-qa* (*mo*(*i*)*rokkʷās*). For prosopographical identification, see section 4.1.

768. **ru-we-ta** Uncertain
Cn 599.4: certain, dative *a₂-pa-tu-wo-te* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of 40 female goats, with *a-ke-o* as his "collector."

769. ***ru-*83** Uncertain
ru-*83-o
En 74.1–2: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
ru-*83-e
Eo 276.2–8: certain, dative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

One of the *telestai* of *Sphagiānes*, *ru-*83* holds a total of GRA 1 T 5 of *ki-ti-me-na* land. The individuals *pe-ki-ta*, *mi-ra*, *te-se-u*, *ma-re-ku-na*, *e-ko-to*, *ma-*79* and *e-*65-to* hold land from him. He appears to be called *te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro* on Eo 276, a term of uncertain meaning.[437]

## SA

770. **sa[**
Jn 431.10: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*

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[436] Leukart 1994, p. 221 and n. 235a.
[437] Aura Jorro 1993, pp. 343–344, s.v. *te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro*.

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

771. **sa-ke-re-u** Uncertain
Ea 776: certain, nominative — none
Jn 431.17: certain, nominative — *a-pe-ke-e*
sa-ke-re-we
Ea 56: certain, dative — none
Ea 304: certain, dative — none
sa-ke-re-wo
Ea 756: certain, genitive — none
Identification probable 1/2/1

A Potnian smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 6 on Jn 431, *sa-ke-re-u* is also prominent in the Ea landholding series. He both holds land and provides it to others. On Ea 756, he is called a priest, and holds a very large piece of *ki-ti-me-na* land (GRA 6 T[). On Ea 776, he has an *o-na-to* of the swineherd (GRA T 2). *ze-pu*$_2$*-ro* the weaver holds GRA T 1 from *sa-ke-re-u* on Ea 56, and *ke-re-te-u* holds GRA T 6 from *sa-ke-re-u* on Ea 304. Lindgren separates the *sa-ke-re-u* of the Ea series from the smith.[438] Given the parallels between the Ea and Jn series, however, and the parallel function served by *sa-ke-re-u* as a Potnian smith and priest, prosopographical identification seems probable. See section 3.1.10.

772. **sa-mu-ta-jo** *Samuthaios* (cf. Σαμύθα)[439]
Jn 389.4: certain, nominative — *a-ka-si-jo-ne*
Vn 865.3: certain, nominative — none
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2 on Jn 389, the name *sa-mu-ta-jo* also appears on Vn 865, a list of shipwrights. No other smiths' names appear on Vn 865. See section 4.7.

773. **sa-ni-jo** Perhaps Σάννιος or Σαννίων[440]
An 5.6: certain, nominative — *qe-re-me-ti-wo* (FP)
sa-ṇị-jọ
Cn 4.3: certain, dative — *qe-re-me-ti-re* (FP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

438 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 111.
439 Ruijgh 1967, p. 225.
440 See Bechtel [1917] 1964, pp. 504–505.

On Cn 4, *sa-ni-jo* is listed as owing 16 sheep to the palace. On An 5, he appears in a simple personnel register. The man listed immediately after him on An 5, *ku-ri-sa-to*, appears immediately before him on Cn 4. *sa-ni-jo* is listed at the same place-name in both texts, as is *ku-ri-sa-to*. See further section 3.2.3.

774. **sa-nu-we** Uncertain
Vn 851.8: certain, dative — none/not preserved
sa-nu-[ ]
Jn 601.13: certain, nominative — *po-wi-te-ja*
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

The *a-ta-ra-si-jo* smith attested on Jn 601 as *sa-nu*[ may be *sa-nu-we* (the reading *sa-nu-ẉẹ*[ is possible), in which case he could be the same as the *sa-nu-we* on Vn 851.8 who probably receives a bed (*de-mi-ni-ja*). The prosopographical identification is tenuous (see section 4.7).

775. **sa-ri**[
An 31.3: certain, nominative — none/not preserved

This individual appears in a fragmentary personnel register.

776. **sa-ri-qo-ro** Uncertain
An 172.8: certain, nominative — *a-we-u-pi*
Jn 845.2: certain, nominative — not preserved
Identification possible 1/2/2

*sa-ri-qo-ro* appears as a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2 on Jn 845, and again on An 172, a personnel register with craft associations (see below s.v. *wo-wi-ja-ta*). The prosopographical identification is possible: two other smiths from the Jn series may appear on An 172 (*wo-wi-ja-ta* and perhaps *ko-a$_2$-ta*). See further section 3.1.8.

777. **sa-sa-wo** Perhaps *Sasāwōn*[441]
Eb 842.A: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
sa-sa-]ẉọ
Ep 613.8: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

[441] Ruijgh 1967, pp. 223 n. 64, 316.

This individual holds a plot of GRA 1 T 5 as a *kamaheus* (*ka-ma-e-u*). There is another phrase which modifies his entry of obscure meaning: *e-pi-qe to-me te-ra-pi-ke*, perhaps to be translated as “and in return for this he serves.”[442]

### SE

778. **se-no** Uncertain

| | |
|---|---|
| Cn 131.11: certain, dative | *ma-ro* (HP) |
| Cn 655.19: certain, nominative | *ma-ro* (HP) |
| Es 645.1: certain, nominative | none |
| Es 650.3: certain, nominative | none |
| ṣẹ-no | |
| Es 644.3: certain, nominative | none |
| Identification certain (Cn), probable (Es) | 1/2/1 |

On Cn 131, this man herds 44 penned female sheep; on Cn 655, he is listed against 40 female sheep with **we-da-ne-u* as his “collector.” *se-no* is also one of the landholders and contributors in the Es series (with a landholding of GRA 1), where **we-da-ne-u* also appears. See further section 3.2.6.

779. **]-ṣẹ-u**

An 435.16: probable, nominative — none/not preserved

Perhaps the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*.

780. **]-se-we**

Mb 1433: probable, dative

This individual is listed against an unpreseved amount of **146* textiles. It is attractive to connect ]-*se-we* (dative) with *ka-e-se-u* (nominative).[443]

781. ***se-we-ri-ko** Uncertain

| | |
|---|---|
| se-we-ri-ko-jo | |
| Sa 753: certain, genitive | none |
| | 1/1/1 |

This individual is responsible for work on two pairs of serviceable chariot wheels with a border (ROTA+*TE*); the wheels are of *e-qe-ta* type (*e-qe-si-jo*).

[442] Ventris and Chadwick 1956, pp. 262–263.
[443] Shelmerdine 2002, p. 317.

782. **se-ẉẹ-ri-wo-wa-zo** Uncertain
Fn 324.4: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD T 1 V 2).

SI

783. **si-ma** Σίμα[444]
En 609.8: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 211.5: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This female servant of the god holds GRA T 1 of *ki-ti-me-na* land from *wa-na-ta-jo*.

784. **si-ma-ko** Σίμαργος
Pn 30.2: certain, nominative or dative
1/1/1

This individual delivered 23 units of **169* (probably beds) to *a-ko-so-ta*, and still owes 10 more. He is probably the supervisor of a work group in charge of producing beds.

785. **si-mu-ta** Uncertain
Jn 832.2: certain, nominative *ro-u-so* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith designated as a decorator (*a-ke-te-re, askēteres*, cf. ἀσκητής).

786. **si-no-u-ro** Uncertain
Cn 285.8: certain, nominative *ro-u-so* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of 60 male goats.

787. **si-pa-ta-no** Uncertain
Jn 832.14: certain, nominative *a-to-mo?*
1/1/1

An *a-ta-ra-si-jo* smith.

444 Neumann 1995, p. 156.

788. **si-ra-ta** Uncertain
Jn 750.6: certain, nominative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

789. **si-ri-jo** Uncertain
Ep 613.10: certain, nominative (for genitive) *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
si-ṛị-jọ-jo
Eb 159.B: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This individual is somehow involved in the landholding of *pe-re-qo-ta*; exactly how depends on the interpretation of *ra-ke*, which is perhaps verbal (λάχε, "he obtained by lot") or a dative noun (λάχει, "in the allotment").[445] In either case, it seems that *pe-re-qo-ta* holds the plot (previously?) belonging to *si-ri-jo*.

SO

790. **so-u-ro** Uncertain
Eo 224.2: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
[so-u-ro]
En 609.12: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This servant of the god holds GRA V 3 of *ki-ti-me-na* land; he holds his plot from *a-ma-ru-ta* on En 609, but from *pa-ra-ko* on Eo 224.

SU

791. **su-ko** Perhaps *Sukos*
Ep 613.4: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
su-ko[
Eb 149.1: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

[445] In either case, from the verb λαγχάνω; see Aura Jorro 1993, p. 216, s.v. *ra-ke* for bibliography and other less plausible suggestions.

This is the name of a *telestās* and *po-ro-du-ma* who, although required to work two plots totalling GRA 10, does not.[446]

792. **su-we-ro-wi-jo** Perhaps *Suwerrowiyos*[447]
An 657.4: probable, nominative *o-wi-to-no* (HP)
0/1/1

This is probably the name of an officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ma-re-u*. It might also be interpreted as a toponym.

TA

793. **]ta**
Jn 320.14: certain, nominative *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-ụ*

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

794. **]-ta**
An 615.11: possible, dative? *e-po-wi-ja*

This man appears in a personnel register.

795. **]-ta**
Cn 702.2: ceratin, dative not preserved

A herder of 40 female sheep, with *a-ko-so-ta* or *a-ke-o* as his "collector." The reading ]*jạ-ta* is possible.

796. **ṭạ-[ ]-ṇọ[**
Jn 320.15: certain, nominative *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-ụ*

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*; the reading *ṭạ-ẉọ-ṇọ* is not excluded.

797. **[ ]ta-jo**
Jn 927.11: certain, nominative ]*ṃẹ-no*

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

446 On *po-ro-du-ma*, see Aura Jorro 1993, pp. 145–146, s.v. *po-ro-du*⟨*-ma*⟩.
447 Neumann 1992a, pp. 435–437.

798. **]-ta-ḳị-jo**
Fn 324.17: certain, dative — none
0/1/0

A recipient of grain (HORD V 2). It may be possible to read ]*q̣ọ-ta-ḳị-jo*[.

799. **ta-mi-je-u** — Probably *Tamieus*
Jn 310.3: certain, nominative — *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

800. **ta-na-wo** — *Tanawos* (cf. Τάνα[ος])[448]
Jn 693.10: certain, nominative — *a-pu*$_2$ (HP)
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

801. **ta-ni-ko** — Perhaps *Tainiskos*
An 657.7: certain, nominative — *o-wi-to-no* (HP)
ta-ni-ko-qe
An 1281.5: certain, nominative — none
Identification tenuous — 1/2/2

This man is an officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ne-da-wa-ta* on An 657. Additionally, he appears on An 1281, where he is allocated to **au-ke-i-ja-te-u* (together with *o-na-se-u*). There is little connection between these two texts; no other individual from the *o-ka* texts appears on An 1281 (section 4.1).

802. **ta-nu-ko** — Uncertain
An 209.6: certain, nominative — none (*ko-ri-to*?)
1/1/1

This man appears in a simple list of Korinthian *statēres* (*ta-te-re*).

803. **ta-ra-ma-ta** — *Thalamātās*[449]
Ea 336: certain, nominative — none
Ea 778: certain, nominative — none
Ea 825: certain, nominative — none

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448 Neumann 1995, p. 156. For Τάνα[ος], see *SEG* XV 311 (= Petrakos 1997, no. 700).
449 Leukart 1994, pp. 177–178.

]ta-ra-ma-ta
Vn 851.3: certain, dative — none/not preserved
ta-ra-ma-ta-o
Ae 108: certain, genitive — none
Ea 821: certain, genitive — none
ta-ra-ma-ta-ọ
Ae 489: certain, genitive — none/not preserved
ta-ra-ma-⟨ta-⟩o
Ae 134: certain, genitive — *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
Identification probable (Ea and Ae), tenuous (Vn) 1/3/2

This individual appears four times in the Ea series: he holds a plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land on Ea 336 (GRA V 3), a plot (GRA T 9) from the *dāmos* on Ea 778, and of GRA T 1 from *ko-do* the herdsman (*po-me-ne*) on Ea 825. His total holdings, recorded on Ea 821, are substantial (GRA 5 T 7̣ V 3). On three Ae texts, different individuals are assigned to watch over *ta-ra-ma-ta*'s animals (*qo-te-ro* on Ae 108, *ke-ro-wo* on Ae 134, and a man whose name is not preserved on Ae 489). It is likely that the landholder in the Ea series and the man from the Ae series is the same individual (see section 4.2.2). *ta-ra-ma-ta* also appears as the recipient of one bed (*de-mi-ni-ja*) on Vn 851. Identifying this person prosopographically with the landholder and individual from the Ae series is tenuous (section 4.7).

804. **ta-ra-mi-ka** *Thalamiskā* (cf. Θαλάμη)
Eb 464.A: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 705.10: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This female servant of the god holds a plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* (GRA T 1 V[ ).

805. **ta-ra-pe-se** Uncertain
Vn 865.4: certain, nominative — none
1/1/1

A man in a list of shipwrights.

**ta-ra-to** see *ta-ra₂-to*

806. **ta-ra₂-to** Uncertain
En 74.15: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
En 659.6: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
En 659.10: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 351.2: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
ta-ra₂-ṭọ
En 659.13: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 471.2: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
ta-ra-to
An 192.10: certain, nominative — none
Eo 247.6: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
[ta-ra₂-to]
Eo 444.5: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification probable 1/2/1

This individual is a major landholder in the E- series. He appears three times on En 659/Eo 351/Eo 444 as a servant of the god, with three *ki-ti-me-na* plots: GRA V 3 from *qe-re-qo-ta*, GRA T 2 V 4 from *a-da-ma-o*, and GRA T 1 V 3 from *a-i-qe-u*. On En 74/Eo 247, he is likewise a servant of the god who holds GRA T 1 of *ki-ti-me-na* land from *a₃-ti-jo-qo*. Like *qe-re-qo-ta*, *ta-ra₂-to* appears in the En/Eo set of landholding texts as well as on An 192. This encourages us to identify the landholder with the man from An 192 (section 4.1).

807. **ta-re-u** *Thaleus* (cf. Θαλέας)
Jn 693.8: certain, nominative — *a-pu₂* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 3.

808. **ta-re-wa** Uncertain
Fn 41.13: probable, dative — none/not preserved
0/1/1

Probably the recipient of grain (HORD T 6 V 4) and olives (OLIV 1).

809. **ta-ta-ke-u** *Stātarkheus* (cf. Στήσαρχος)[450]
Cn 655.20: certain, nominative — *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of 30 female sheep with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector."

450 García Ramón 2000a, pp. 173–174.

810. **ta-ta-ro** Τάνταλος[451]
Eo 224.7: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 301.6: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
[ta-ta-ro]
Eb 874: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

On Ep 301/Eb 874, this *ktoinohokhos* (*ko-to-no-o-ko*) holds a plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land (GRA V 3) from the *dāmos*. On Eo 224.7, *po-so-re-ja*, a servant of the god, holds GRA T 1 V 3 *ki-ti-me-na* land from *Tantalos* (although on En 609.17, which recapitulates Eo 224.7, *po-so-re-ja* holds land from *a-ma-ru-ta*).

811. **ta-ti-qo-we-u** *Tātigʷōwēus* or *Stātigʷōwēus*[452]
An 724.8: certain, nominative *ro-o-wa* (HP)
ta-ti-qo-we-wo
An 654.11: certain, genitive none[453]
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is the commander of a military unit (*o-ka*) on An 654. On An 724, he appears to be responsible for a missing rower, although the middle of the line is missing and difficult to reconstruct. The contexts are both military in nature, suggesting prosopographical identification (see section 4.1).

812. ***ta-we-si-jo** Perhaps *Thāwēsios*
ta-we-si-jo-jo
An 261 *v*.1: certain, genitive none
Un 616 *v*.1: certain, genitive none
ta-]ẉẹ-si-jo-jo
An 261 *v*.2: certain, genitive none
ta-]we-si-jo-jo
An 261 *v*.4: certain, genitive none
ta-we[-si-jo-]jọ
An 261.10: certain, genitive none
ta-we-ṣị[-jo-]jo
An 261.11: certain, genitive none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is the head of a *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) with 20 members. The only complete name of a member of his *geronsiā* is *tu-ru-we-u* (fragmentary names are *wa*-[, ]*wa-ne-u*, and *te-wa*[). See section 3.1.4.

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451 von Kamptz 1982, p. 257.
452 Leukart 1994, p. 246; García Ramón 2009, p. 10.
453 Lang (1990, p. 121) takes *wa-wo-u-de* (An 654.15) as an allative.

813. **ta-zo-te-ja** Uncertain
Vn 851.11: certain, dative none/not preserved
1/1/1

This woman receives one bed (*de-mi-ni-ja*).

TE

814. **te-[**
Cn 600.7: certain, nominative *ti-mi-to-a-ko* (FP)

A herder of 80 female sheep.

815. **te-do-ne-ja** Uncertain
Vn 851.10: certain, dative none/not preserved
1/1/1

This woman receives one bed (*de-mi-ni-ja*).

816. **]te-i-jo**
Ea 421: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This individual holds a large plot of land (GRA 1 T 4 V 2) of the wheelwright of the *lāwāgetās* (*re-we-ke-si-jo-jo ... a-mo-te-wo*).

817. **te-o-po-qọ[** Θεόφορβος[454]
An 39 *v*.9: certain, nominative/dative none
1/1/1

This man appears in a personnel register of unknown purpose.

818. **te-pe** Perhaps *Terpēs* (cf. Τέρπων)
Jn 725.2: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of unspecified amount in the preliminary text Jn 725.

454 Railsback 1997, pp. 32–33; cf. Bechtel [1917] 1964, p. 456.

819. **te-pe-u** Perhaps *Terpeus* (cf. Τέρπων)
An 340.9: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man is with (*pa-ro*) the individual named *a-ta-o*, probably in a craft context.

820. **]te-pi-ja** Uncertain
]te-pi-ja-qe
Fn 324.23: certain, dative (+ -*qe*) none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD [ ]2).

821. **te-po-se-u** Uncertain
Jo 438.21: certain, nominative **ti-nwa-to* (FP)
On 300.12: certain, nominative FP
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is the *ti-nwa-si-ja ko-re-te*, the district governor of **ti-nwa-to*, a town in the Further Province. He contributes a relatively large amount of gold on Jo 438 (N 1), the third largest quantity on this text. He appears without his title on On 300, where he is allocated three hides (**154*). It is likely that *te-po-se-u* is the *dāmokoros* of the Further Province on On 300.[455] See section 4.1.

822. **te-qa-ja** *Thēgʷaiā* (cf. Θηβαῖος)
Ep 539.6: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
[te-qa-ja]
Eb 859: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
1/1/1

This female servant of the god holds an *o-na-to* of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* of GRA T 2.

823. ***te-qi-ri-jo** Uncertain
te-qi-ri-jo-ne
Fn 187.12: certain, dative none
te-qi-⟨ri-⟩jo-ne
Un 219.4: certain, dative none
te-]qi-ri-jo-ne
Vn 851.13: certain, dative none/not preserved
Identification certain (Fn, Un), tenuous (Vn) 1/2/2

455 Palaima 1995b, pp. 631–632.

On Fn 187, this man receives a small amount of grain (HORD V 3) among religious recipients. Many of these same receeipients appear on Un 219; *te-qi-⟨ri-⟩jo-ne* is listed against one unit of *O*. On Vn 851, he is probably the recipient of a bed (*de-mi-ni-ja*). For the prosopographical identification of the individual from Fn 187 and Un 219, see section 4.3. See too section 4.7.

824. ***te-ra-u-re** Perhaps *Telahūlēs*[456]
]te-ra-u-re-o
Sa 22: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

This individual is listed against a pair of horses. His name is probably complete.

825. **te-ra-wo** *Telāwōn*[457]
te-ra-wo-ne
Fn 79.11: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD V 5).

826. ]**te-re**-[
An 435.3: probable, nominative none/not preserved

Perhaps the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*.

827. **te-re-do** Uncertain
Cn 1287.2: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This individual, identified as a fuller (*ka-na-pe-u*), is listed against one female goat. It is likely that these animals were delivered to the palatial authority for consumption.

828. **te-ri-ja** Perhaps *Teliās*[458]
Un 443.2: probable, nominative
0/1/1

456 Ruijgh 1967, p. 378.
457 Ruijgh 1967, p. 293 n. 21.
458 Ruijgh 1967, p. 439.

This is almost certainly a personal name; this individual appears to contribute a large number of goods (GRA 1 and LANA 5) to the palace, as does *ka-pa-ti-ja*.

829. **te-se-u** Θῆσευς
En 74.5: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 276.4: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
1/1/1

This servant of the god holds a plot of *ki-ti-me-na* land (GRA T 4) from *ru-*83*.

830. **te-so-qe** Uncertain
Un 1193.4: possible, dative? — none
0/1/0

Possibly a personal name on a text that probably concerns landholding.[459] The only certain name on Un 1193 (*we-da-ne-wo*) is genitive.

831. **te-te-re-u** Uncertain
Eb 1176.A: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 539.8: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Jn 389.12: certain, nominative — *a-ka-si-jo-ne*
Identification possible 1/2/2

*te-te-re-u* is a smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 389, and appears once in the Eb/Ep series as a holder of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* (GRA V 3), where he is described as the servant of the priestess (i.e., of *e-ri-ta*). According to Deroy and Gérard,[460] the name *te-te-re-u* can be read as "celui qui observe les manifestations divines, l'augure" (*thestereus*), which might be seen to correspond to his status as the servant of the priestess, perhaps an important religious position. There are a number of smiths who seem to appear in the *pa-ki-ja-ne* landholding texts, but the connections are not so strong as to make the prosopographical identification certain (section 3.1.10).

832. **]te-u**
An 340.4: certain, nominative — none

This man is with (*pa-ro*) the individual named *a-ta-o*, probably in a craft context.

459 de Fidio 1983.
460 Deroy and Gérard 1965, pp. 41, 163–164; Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, p. 210.

833. **]-te-u**
An 340.6: certain, nominative none

This man is with (*pa-ro*) the individual named *a-ta-o*, probably in a craft context.

834. **te-u-to** Probably *Teuthos* (cf. Τεύθιος)[461]
Jn 601.3: certain, nominative *po-wi-te-ja*
Jn 693.6: certain, nominative *a-pu₂* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5 on Jn 601 and AES M 4 on Jn 693. For prosopographical identification, see section 3.1.1.

835. **te-ẉạ[**
An 261 *v*.1: certain, nominative none

A member of the *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) of *ta-we-si-jo*.

836. **te-wa-jo** Uncertain
Fn 324.1: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD T 2).

837. **te-wa-ko-no** Uncertain
An 209.4: certain, nominative none (*ko-ri-to*?)
1/1/1

This man appears in a list of Korinthian *statēres* (*ta-te-re*).

TI

838. **]-ti-ja-no**
Xa 1253: possible, case uncertain none/not preserved

The reading ]*ṇẹ-ti-ja-no* is not impossible, which suggests the name *ne-ti-ja-no* (Cn 599). Yet this string of signs may or may not be its own word, as it may not be separated from the signs -*ṣẹ-ẉạ*-[ that follow it.

461 Ilievski 1996, p. 52; García Ramón 2009, p. 3.

839. **ti-ki-jo** Perhaps Στίχιος
An 129.1: certain, dative none/not preserved
1/1/1

Most probably, 14 men (including the named individuals *a-ta-ro-we*, *pe-re-wa-ta*, *to-ro-wo* and *ka-nu-ta-jo*) are listed with (*pa-ro*) *ti-ki-jo*. It is unclear what the context is, although the only other parallel entry on this text is "with the smiths" (*pa-ro ka-ke-u-si*) and thus a craft context is not out of the question.

840. **ti-ko-ro** Uncertain
Cn 1197.3: certain, dative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

This man is listed against a single male sheep, probably destined for consumption.

841. **]ti-na-jo**
Jn 601.11: certain, nominative *po-wi-te-ja*

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*. It may be possible to identify him with *po-ti-na-jo*, who appears on Jn 692.7 and 725.20.[462]

842. **ti-qa-jo** *Thisgʷaios*
Eo 278: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Jn 310.2: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
ti-qa-jo-jo
En 467.1: certain, genitive *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification possible 1/2/2

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2 on Jn 310, *ti-qa-jo* also appears on two corresponding landholding texts as a *telestās*: on Eo 278, he is described as a herdsman (*po-me*) with two plots (*dwo* , *ko-to-no*). En 467 has a different formula: he has no title and holds one or plural (*ko-to-na*) of GRA 8 T 3. His activities are fairly close geographically (see section 2.3).[463] For prooso-pographical identification, see section 3.1.10.

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[462] Ruijgh 1967, p. 221; Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 99.
[463] See section 2.3 for a discussion of the geographical relationship between *a-ke-re-wa* and *pa-ki-ja-ne*.

843. **ti-ṛẹ-wo** Uncertain
Cn 655.7: certain, nominative *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of 70 old male sheep.

844. **ti-ri-[·]**
Jn 725.3: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* in the preliminary text Jn 725.

845. **ti-ri-da-ro** Uncertain
Ea 28: certain, nominative none
Ea 460: certain, nominative none
Ea 754: certain, nominative none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man appears three times in the Ea series, each time designated as a sewer (*ra-pte, raptēr*, cf. ῥάπτης). On Ea 28, he has a *ka-ma* (the size is not preserved). On Ea 460 he has an *o-na*⟨*-to*⟩ from the *dāmos* (again, the size of the plot is not preserved). Finally, Ea 754 records an *o-na-to* of *ko-do* of GRA T 6[.

846. **ti-ri-jo** *Triōn*
Cn 4.5: certain, nominative *e-ri-no-wo-te* (FP)
1/1/1

This man owes seven sheep.

847. **ti-ri-po-di-ko** *Tripodiskos*
Cn 599.8: certain, dative *e-ko-me-no* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of 57 female pigs.

848. ***ti-ta-ra-wo** Uncertain
ti-ta-[ ]wo
Jn 389.6: certain, nominative *a-ka-si-jo-ne*
ti-ta-ra-[ ]
An 1281.12: certain, nominative none
Identification possible 1/2/2

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 3, the missing sign in his name is consistent with *ra*; this may be the same name as the man from An 1281, who

is allocated to *me-ta-ka-wa* (the reading *ti-ta-ra-ẉọ*[ is a possibility on An 1281). Given the large amount of overlap between An 1281 and the Jn series, the prosopographical identification is possible (section 3.1.7).

849. **ti-tu[**
Cn 254.2: certain, dative — *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

A herder of 100 male sheep.

TO

850. **]to**
An 435.9: probable, nominative? — none

Perhaps the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*.

851. **to-ke-u** Uncertain
An 209.7: certain, nominative — none (*ko-ri-to*?)
1/1/1

This man appears in a simple list of Korinthian *statēres* (*ta-te-re*).

852. **to-qi-da-so** Uncertain
Fn 324.23: certain, dative — none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD V 2).

853. **to-ri-jo** Uncertain
Jn 605.2: certain, nominative — *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

854. ***to-ro** Τρῶς
to-ro-o
An 519.1: certain, genitive — *ro-o-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

A commander of a military unit (*o-ka*) at *ro-o-wa*, probably the port of Pylos.

855. **to-ro-ja** Probably *Trōiā* (cf. Τρωϊάς)
Ep 705.6: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
1/1/1

This female servant of the god holds a plot of GRA T 1 of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos*.

856. **to-ro-wi** Perhaps *Trowiks*
Cn 131.6: certain, nominative *ma-ro* (HP)
Jn 601.2: certain, nominative *po-wi-te-ja*
to-ro-wi-ka
An 5.3: certain, nominative *te-ko-to-a-pe* (FP)
to-ro-wi-ko
Cn 655.2: certain, genitive *ma-ro* (HP)
Identification certain (Cn, Jn), probable (An) 1/2/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 8 on Jn 601, *to-ro-wi* also appears on two Cn tablets. On Cn 131 he has a flock of 130 penned sheep; on Cn 655 he has a flock of 133 (or more) old male sheep. For the prosopographical identification of these two herders, see section 3.2.1; for the herder with the smith, see section 3.1.2. It is also probable that an individual in the personnel register An 5, *to-ro-wi-ka*, is a graphical variant of *to-ro-wi* and represents the same individual (for which, see section 3.1.6).

857. **to-ro-wo** Uncertain
An 129.5: certain, nominative none
Vn 130.8: certain, dative *ka-ra-do-ro* (HP)
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

On An 129, this individual appears to be under the supervision of *ti-ko-jo*. He is probably described as *ri-na-ko-ro*, perhaps meaning linen-collector, unless this word is a toponym.[464] On Vn 130, he is listed as in possession of one vessel (*a-ke-a*$_2$). There is little to connect these tablets, other than findspot (see section 2.4).

858. **to-ru-ko-ro** Uncertain
Cn 655.16: certain, nominative *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of 88 female sheep, with **we-da-ne-u* as his "collector."

464 See Aura Jorro 1993, p. 254, s.v. *ri-na-ko-ro*.

859. **to-sa-no** Uncertain
Fn 79.4: certain, dative none
to-sa-no-jo
Jn 431.25: certain, genitive *a-pe-ke-e*
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

On Jn 431, there are five men (presumably servants) who are assigned to *to-sa-no*. He appears elsewhere only once, on Fn 79, where is a recipient of grain (HORD T 6 V 4) and olives (OLIV 1). The prosopographical identification is tenuous (section 4.3).

860. **to-si-ta** *Thorsitās* (cf. Θερσίτης)
Cn 719.2: certain, nominative *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of 82 male sheep with *a-ke-o* as his "collector."

861. **to-wa** *Thowā(n)s* (cf. Θόας)
An 654.11: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

The first officer listed in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ta-ti-qo-we*.

862. **to-wa-no** Probably *Thowānōr*[465]
to-wa-no-re
Fn 79.12: certain, dative none
1/1/1

A recipient of grain (HORD T 6 V 4) and olives (OLIV 1[).

863. **to-wa-te-u** Perhaps *Thowanteus*[466]
ṭọ-wa-te-u
Eb 1188.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
to-wa-te[-u]
Ep 539.11: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man, described as the servant of *a-pi-me-de*, holds a plot of GRA T 8 of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos*.

465 García Ramón 1999, p. 431; 2000b.
466 Leukart 1994, p. 221.

864. **to-ze-u** Uncertain
An 1281.8: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man is allocated to *mi-jo-qa* on An 1281; he is probably allocated grain as one of the servants of *mi-jo-qa* on Fn 50.

TU

865. **tu[**
Vn 851.6: probable, dative none/not preserved

This individual is probably the recipient of a bed (*de-mi-ni-ja*).

866. **tu-ke-ne-u** Probably *Stugneus*
Jn 310.15: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

A Potnian smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 3.

867. **tu-ni-jo** Perhaps *Thūnios* (cf. Θύνων)
Cn 4.4: certain, dative *ta-to a-ka-re-u-te* (FP)
tu-ni-jo[
Xa 1419.2: probable, dative? none/not preserved
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

On Cn 4, *tu-ni-jo* owes seven sheep to the palace. On Xa 1419, the same name appears directly below *di-wo-nu-so*[ in an obscure context.

868. **tu-ri-ja-jọ** Probably *Thuriaios*
Jn 431.11: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

869. **tu-ri-ja-ti** Probably *Thuriatis*
En 659.5: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
[tu-ri-ja-ti]
Eo 444.4: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
1/1/1

A female servant of the god who holds GRA T 9 of *ki-ti-me-na* land from *pe-re-qo-ta*.

870. **tu-ri-jo** Uncertain
Jn 693.8: certain, nominative *a-pu₂* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 3.

871. ***tu-ri-si-jo** *Tulisios*
tu-ri-si-jo-jo
Sa 758: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

This man is responsible for work on one pair of serviceable chariot wheels with a border (ROTA+*TE*).

872. **tu-ri-ta** Uncertain
Cn 40.10: certain, dative *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of 80 male sheep with *a-ke-o* as his "collector."

873. **]tu-ro**
Cn 702.3: certain, nominative not preserved

A herder of 30 female sheep with *a-ke-o* as his "collector." Possibly this is the same individual as *a-ta-tu-ro* on Cn 436.2.[467]

874. **tu-ru-we-u** Perhaps *Thruweus*
An 261 *v*.2: certain, nominative none
Cn 254.1: certain, nominative (for dative) *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

On Cn 254, a herder of 180 old male sheep; on An 261, a member of the *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) of *ta-we-si-jo*. Prosopographical identification is tenuous (section 3.2.3).

875. **tu-si-je-u** Probably *Thusieus* (cf. Θυσία)
An 519.7: certain, nominative near *ro-o-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

An officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ke-wo-no*.

[467] Ilievski 1972, p. 274.

876. **]tu-si-jo**
An 435.12: probable, nominative? none/not preserved
0/1/1

Perhaps the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*.

877. **tu-ti-je-u** Uncertain[468]
Cn 4.6: certain, nominative *ne-do-ẉọ-te* (FP)
1/1/1

A herder who owes four sheep to the palace.

878. **tu-wa-si**
Fn 41.15: doubtful, dative none/not preserved
0/1/0

Probably a dative plural and not a personal name in a text recording allocations of grain (although no grain is assigned to *tu-wa-si*).

879. **tu-we-ta** *Thuwestās* (cf. Θυέστας)[469]
Un 267.2: certain, dative none
0/1/1

An unguent-boiler (*a-re-pa-zo-o*) to whom *a-ko-so-ta* gives a variety of aromatics with which to make perfumed oil.[470]

U

880. **]ụ**
Cc 1284: probable, nominative none

This is the name of a man who brings (*pe-re*, φέρει) eight goats, presumably for consumption.

881. **]u**
Jn 320.6: certain, nominative *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-ụ*

[468] For the possibility that *tu-si-je-u* and *tu-ti-je-u* are the same name, see Aura Jorro 1993, p. 380 and n. 3, s.v. *tu-si-je-u*.
[469] E.g., von Kamptz 1982, p. 147.
[470] Shelmerdine 1985, pp. 17–20.

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 3.

882. **ụ[ ]i-jo**
Jn 431.4: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
0/1/0

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 6.

883. **u-de-wi-ni-jọ[** Uncertain
Jn 410.5: certain, nominative not preserved (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* (how much is not preserved). This individual's name is transparently derived from the toponym *u-de-wi-ne*, known only from PY Cn 595.4.

884. ***u-me-ta** Perhaps *Humetās*[471]
u-me-ta-qe
Ea 259.a: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man, together with *o-ke-u*, holds a plot of land from the *dāmos* (GRA T 2̣ or 4̣). The name *u-me-ta* seems to have been added as an afterthought; it is written above the main line of text and the number of the verb (*e-ke*, cf. ἔχει) was not changed.

885. **u-re[**
Nn 831.2: possible, nominative? perhaps *ko-ri*[*to*

This is possibly the name of a man who appears in a document recording the tax contributions by different individuals and groups. He is responsible for paying four units of flax, the most of any individual other than the *koretēr* (who pays 24 units). Cf. *u-re-u*.

886. **u-re-u** *Hul*(*l*)*eus* (cf. Ὕλλος)
Vn 865.9: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

A man in a list of shipwrights.

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[471] Ruijgh 1967, p. 296 n. 31.

887. **u-wa-mi-ja** *Huamiā*[472]
Eb 416.1: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 704.2: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This woman is a servant of the god who has plot of land and a gift of honor of (from) the priestess (*i-je-re-ja ke-ra*, ἱερείας γέρας) of GRA T 1 V 3 (on Ep 704) or GRA T 2 V 3 (on Eb 416). Presumably the priestess who gives this to *u-wa-mi-ja* is *Eritha* (*e-ri-ta*), who is listed in the very next line of Ep 704.

888. **ụ-wa-ta** Perhaps *Huātās* or *Huantās*[473]
Jn 605.4: certain, nominative *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

WA

889. **ẉạ-[ ]**
An 261.10: certain, nominative none/not preserved
1/1/1

A member of the *geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*) of *ta-we-si-jo*.

890. **[·]-wa-[**
An 31.1: certain, nominative none/not preserved

This man appears in a fragmentary personnel register. The readings *ṭẹ-wa-*[ and *ṭẹ-wa-jọ*[ are possible.

891. **wa-[ ]re-u**
Jn 310.8: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
0/1/0

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*. The reading *wa-ra*[ ]*re-u* or *wa-ta*[ ]*re-u* is possible.

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472 Ruijgh 1967, pp. 142. Cf. Ὑαμία (Paus. 4.14.1), Ὑαμεῖτις (Strab. 8.4.7), and Ὑαμεία (the modern name of a Messenian village near Koroni).

473 Ruijgh 1967, p. 153 n. 283. Cf. the toponym Ὕα.

892. **]wạ-[·]-ṭẹ[**
An 435.11: probable, nominative? none/not preserved

Perhaps the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*. The reading ]*wạ-ṣụ-ṭẹ*[ is also possible.

893. **wa-da-ko** Uncertain
Cn 285.7: certain, nominative *ro-u-so* (HP)
1/1/1

A shepherd of 86 male sheep.

894. ***wa-de** Perhaps *Wādēs* (cf. Ἀδέας)
wa-de-o
Sa 766: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

This man is responsible for work on two pairs of serviceable chariot wheels with a border (ROTA+*TE*).

895. ***wa-di-re-u** Perhaps *Wādileus* (cf. Ἀδίλης)
wa-di-re-we
Fn 79.8: certain, dative none
1/1/1

The recipient of grain (HORD T 2 V 3) and olives (OLIV T 7).

896. **wa-do-me-no** *Wādomenos*
Vn 130.5: certain, dative *e-na-po-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

This individual is in possession of nine vessels (*a-ke-*$a_2$).

897. **wa-du-ri-jo** *Wādulios* (cf. Ἀδύλος)[474]
Jn 725.24: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith (presumably with a *ta-ra-si-ja*; the text does not specify) on the preliminary text Jn 725.

[474] Ruijgh 1967, p. 150.

898. **wa-e-ro** Uncertain
Cn 1197.2: certain, dative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

This man is listed against one male sheep at *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, presumably for consumption.

899. **wa-ka-ta/wa-tu-ta** Perhaps *Wastutās* (cf. Ἀστέας, etc.)[475]
wa-ka-ta
Jn 658.7: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
wa-tu-ta
Jn 725.5: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This man is a smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5 on Jn 658, and of unspecified amount on the preliminary text Jn 725. For prosopographical identification, see sections 2.2, 3.1.1.

900. **wa-ka-ti-ja-ta** Uncertain
An 656.4: possible, nominative *ne-wo-ki-to* (HP)
0/1/0

This may be the name of an officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *wa-pa-ro*, or an ethnic modifying the *ke-ki-de* men associated with this unit.

901. **wa-na-si-ja-ḳẹ** Uncertain
Vn 851.7: certain, dative none/not preserved
1/1/1

This individual appears to be allocated one bed (*de-mi-ni-ja*).

902. **wa-na-ta-jo** *Warnataios* (cf. Ἀρναῖος)[476]
Eo 211.5: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 224.5: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 301.3: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Jn 832.7: certain, nominative *ro-u-so* (HP)
wa-na-ta[-jo]
Eo 211.2–3: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
wa-na-ta-]jo
Eb 369.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)

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475 Assuming the name is actually *wa-tu-ta*. See Aura Jorro 1993, pp. 399, 410, s.vv. *wa-ka-ta*, *wa-tu-ta*.

476 Ruijgh 1967, p. 223; von Kamptz 1982, p. 41.

wa-na-ta-jo-jo
Eo 211.1: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
En 609.3: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
ẉạ-na-ṭạ-jo-jo
En 609.4: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
wa-⟨na-⟩ta-jọ
Eo 211.4: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

*Warnataios* is probably a smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 832.[477] He also appears as a *telestās* on the landholding texts Eo 211/En 609. His total holdings there consist of GRA 2 V 1; land is held from him by *a-tu-ko*, *i-ni-ja*, *e-*65-to* and *si-ma*. On Ep 301/Eb 369, he is a *ktoinohokhos* (*ko-to-no-o-ko*) who holds a plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* (GRA T 5). For prosopographical identification of the *telestās* and the *ktoinohokhos*, see section 4.2. We can also identify the smith prosopographically with the *ktoinohokhos* with certainty, since he appears in Ep 301 immediately adjacent to *a-da-ma-o* and *a-tu-ko* (see section 2.4).[478] Geographically his activities are fairly dispersed.[479]

[ ]**wa-ne-u** see *a-wa-ne-u*

903. ]**wa-ni-jo**[
An 435.5: probable, nominative? none/not preserved
0/1/1

Perhaps the name of a man allocated to *ke-sa-da-ra* by *a-ko-so-ta*.

904. ]**ẉạ-ni-ko** *Warniskos* (Ἀρνίσκος)
Jn 478.4: certain, nominative *wi-ja-we-ra₂* (HP)
0/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 4. The name is almost certainly complete.

[477] Lindgren (1973, vol. 1, p. 125) proposes that *wa-na-ta-jo* might be a *qa-si-re-u*, although one would expect a *gʷasileus* to appear between the smiths with a *ta-ra-si-ja* and those without, as on Jn 431.

[478] Lindgren (1973, vol. 2, p. 193) argued that the smith and the landowner should be equated based on the presence of the designation *ka-wi-jo*, but this word does not appear in the published transcriptions of Jn 832 (Bennett and Olivier 1973; Bennett et al. in prep.).

[479] If *ro-u-so* is in the vicinity of modern Koukounara (Bennet 1999, p. 147) then it is only 10 km as the crow flies but the terrain is difficult to traverse and a fairly direct route along modern roads would be nearly 18 km long. If *ro-u-so* is closer to modern Pylia, then the distance along modern roads is closer to 20 km.

905. **]wa-o**
Vn 34.10: certain, genitive none

The ending of the name of a man who is listed against a woman's name (*o*-[) in the nominative.

906. **[ ]wa-pa-no** Uncertain[480]
Jn 601.4: certain, nominative *po-wi-te-ja*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 8.

907. ***wa-pa-ro** Uncertain
wa-pa-ro-jo
An 656.1: certain, genitive *ne-wo-ki-to* (HP)
1/1/1

The commander of the military unit (*o-ka*) located at *ne-wo-ki-to*.

908. **wa-ra-ki-no** Uncertain
An 615.15: certain, nominative ]*wo-wo*
1/1/1

A man in a fragmentary personnel register of uncertain purpose.

909. **wa-ra-ko-no** Uncertain
Jn 845.12: certain, nominative not preserved
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

910. **wa-ra-pi-si-ṛọ[** Perhaps *Wrapsilos*[481]
Cn 436.7: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

A herder of goats (the number is not preserved).

911. **wa-ra-wo-ṇọ** Uncertain
Cn 600.6: certain, nominative *re-qa-se-wo wo-wo* (FP)
1/1/1

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480 Perhaps *Warpānōr* (Attinger 1977, p. 74).
481 Aura Jorro 1993, p. 407, s.v. *wa-ra-pi-si-ro*.

A herder of 70 male sheep with *a-ke-o* as his "collector."

912. **wa-ti-ko-ro** Probably *Wastikhoros*[482]
Jn 725.8: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* (of unspecified amount) on the preliminary text Jn 725; his son (*i-*65-qe*) is listed immediately after him. See above, s.v. *pi-ro-ne-ta*.

913. **]wa-ti-ro**
Jn 431.24: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
Identification with *ka-wa-ti-ro* tenuous (Mb), possible (An)

A Potnian smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 431, ]*wa-ti-ro* may also appear on Mb 1401 and An 340 as *ka-wa-ti-ro*.[483] The connection to Mb 1401 is tenuous and unparalleled (see section 4.5). An 340, on the other hand, is a tablet strongly associated with smiths and the prosopographical identification with *ka-wa-ti-ro* is somewhat more likely (see section 3.1.5).

914. **wa-tu-o** Perhaps *Wastuōn*
Vn 865.4: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

A man in a list of shipwrights.

915. **wa-tu-wa-o-ko** *Wastuwāhokhos/Wastuhokhos* (cf. Ἀστύοχος)[484]
An 519.3: certain, nominative *ro-o-wa* (HP)
wa-tu-o-ko
Ea 136: certain, nominative none
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

This individual appears as an officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of **to-ro*. It is impossible to connect him to an individual who possibly has the same name (spelled differently), a messenger (*a-ke-ro*, ἄγγελος) who holds a plot of land from the *dāmos* of GRA T 5 V 4 (see sections 4.1, 4.2.2).

**wa-tu-ta** see *wa-ka-ta/wa-tu-ta* above

482 Neumann 1995, p. 155.
483 Lindgren 1973, vol. 1, p. 63.
484 Neumann 1995, p. 135.

916. **wa-u-do-no** Uncertain
Jn 389.4: certain, nominative *a-ka-si-jo-ne*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

WE

917. **ẉẹ**-[
Jn 410.4: certain, nominative not preserved

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* (the amount is not preserved).

918. ]**ẉẹ**
Fr 324.10: certain, dative none

A recipient of grain (HORD T 1).

919. ***we-da-ne-u** Uncertain
we-da-ne-we
Es 646.3: certain, dative none
Es 647.3: certain, dative none
Es 649.3: certain, dative none
we-da-ne-wo
An 610.14: certain, genitive none
Cn 40.4: certain, genitive *wa-no-jo wo-wo* (HP)
Cn 40.6: certain, genitive *e-ko-me-no* (HP)
Cn 40.9: certain, genitive *ma-ro* (HP)
Cn 45.2: certain, genitive *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo* (FP)
Cn 45.3–3a: certain, genitive *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo* (FP)
Cn 45.4: certain, genitive *u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja* (FP)
Cn 254.4a: certain, genitive *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
Cn 254.5: certain, genitive *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
Cn 254.7: certain, genitive *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
Cn 600.8: certain, genitive *ti-mi-to-a-ko* (FP)
Cn 643.5: certain, genitive *ma-ro* (HP)
Cn 655.6: certain, genitive *ma-ro* (HP)
Cn 655.14–19: certain, genitive *ma-ro* (HP)
Es 644.6: certain, genitive none
Es 645.3: certain, genitive none
Es 648.3: certain, genitive none
Es 650.6: certain, genitive none
Es 651.3: certain, genitive none
Es 653.3: certain, genitive none

| | |
|---|---|
| Es 703.1: certain, genitive | none |
| Es 703.3: certain, genitive | none |
| Es 726.3: certain, genitive | none |
| Es 727.3: certain, genitive | none |
| Es 728.3: certain, genitive | none |
| Es 729.3: certain, genitive | none |
| Na 856: certain, genitive | *$a_2$-ki-ra* |
| Na 1041: certain, genitive | *ko-ru-du-wo* |
| Un 1193.3: certain, genitive | *a-ke-re-we* (HP) |
| we-da-ne-ẉọ | |
| Es 652.3: certain, genitive | none |
| we-ḍạ-ne-wo | |
| Cn 655.13: certain, genitive | *ma-ro* (HP) |
| [we-]ḍạ-ne-wo | |
| Cn 655.20: certain, genitive | *ma-ro* (HP) |
| we-u-da-ne-we | |
| Cn 418.1: certain, dative | none |
| Identification certain | 1/1/1 |

**we-da-ne-u* is one of the four "collectors" of Pylos and one of the most important agents in the Linear B texts, so much so that Lindgren suspected he was the Pylian *lāwagetās*.[485] He appears as a "collector" (i.e., in the genitive in the Cn texts) 19 times on six Cn texts. It is almost certain that *we-u-da-ne-we* is an alternative spelling of his name on Cn 418, where he appears as responsible for several animals, perhaps in a sacrificial context.[486] On An 610, he is responsible for contributing 20 rowers in a military context. He also appears in two taxation documents; on both he is listed against 10 units of flax with the abbreviation *ke* (perhaps for *ke-ke-me-na*). Thus, **we-da-ne-u* apparently holds land where flax is cultivated and in respect of which he is taxed. The role of **we-da-ne-u* on Un 1193 is difficult to ascertain; this text also seems to deal with landholding.[487] The servant of **we-da-ne-u* (*we-da-ne-wo do-e-ro*) is one of the landholders and contributors to Poseidon in the Es series. See further sections 3.2.4, 3.2.6, 4.2.3, 4.6, 4.8.

920. **we-ke-i-jo[** Perhaps *Wekhehios*[488]

Jn 927.2: certain, nominative ]*ṃẹ-no*

1/1/1

[485] Lindgren 1973, vol. 2, pp. 134–136.
[486] Palaima 1989, pp. 104–108.
[487] de Fidio 1983.
[488] Ruijgh 1967, p. 206.

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

921. **we-ra-jo** Perhaps *Weilaios*[489]
Ep 613.14: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
we-]ra-jo
Eb 364.1: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A Potnian (*po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*) holder of *ke-ke-me-na* land (GRA T 2).

922. **we-ro-ta** Perhaps *Werotās*[490]
An 129.8: probable, nominative none
0/1/1

Probably a man who is "with the smiths" (*pa-ro ka-ke-u-si*), presumably a man allocated to work with a group of smiths.

923. **we-te-re-u** Perhaps *Westreus*[491]
Eb 472.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eb 477.A: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
En 74.16: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
En 659.4: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Eo 247.7: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Ep 539.13: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
we-te-re-u-qe
Ed 317.2: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
[we-te-re-u]
Eo 444.3: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This individual appears very prominently in landholding texts; he is fact the priest of *Sphagiānes* (*pa-ki-ja-ne*). On En 74/Eo 247, he holds a plot of *ki-ti-me-na* land from *a$_3$-ti-jo-qo* of GRA T 5, and is there designated as a priest (*hiereus, i-je-re-u*). This same individual also appears as a priest on Ep 539, where he holds GRA 2 T 3 of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos*, and on En 659/Eo 444, where he holds GRA T 1 of *ki-ti-me-na* land from *pe-re-qo-ta*. On the Eb 472 and 477, which together are summarized on Ep 539, instead

489 Ilievski 1969.
490 Leukart 1994, pp. 90 n. 152.
491 Ruijgh 1967, pp. 116–117.

of being called a priest he is *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta*, probably a title or an ethnic.[492] *we-te-re-u* is the only individual recorded by personal name on the totalling tablet Ed 317, which records that the priestess (i.e., *e-ri-ta*), key-bearer (i.e., *ka-pa-ti-ja*), the servants of the *hek*ʷ*etās* (i.e., *a-pi-me-de*) and *we-te-re-u* together hold GRA 21 T 6 of *o-na-ta*.[493] The prosopographical identification of all instances of *we-te-re-u* is made certain by the consistent use of titles and the correlations of the size of the landholding plots (see section 4.2).

924. **we-we-si-jo** Uncertain
Jn 431.18: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
Jn 658.2: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Jn 725.3: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

On Jn 431, *we-we-si-jo* is a Potnian smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 3. He is the first smith listed with a *ta-ra-si-ja* (AES M 5) on Jn 658, and he appears on the preliminary text Jn 725 with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of an unspecified amount. For prosopographical identification of the multiple instances of this name in the Jn series, see sections 2.2, 3.1.1. Women on Aa 762 are designated with an adjective clearly derived from this name (*we-we-si-je-ja*), and *we-we-si-jo* is the name of a "collector" at Knossos.[494] It is possible that the women on Aa 762 are managed or owned by this *we-we-si-jo*.

## WI

925. **wi-du-wa-ko** Uncertain
Jn 310.5: certain, nominative *a-ke-re-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

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[492] See Leukart 1994, p. 183 on *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta*. On Eb 472, there is a confusing phrase *wo-jo ,* *35-to which remains unexplained. *wo-jo* is typically interpreted as the genitive of the third person possessive adjective (Aura Jorro 1993, p. 440 s.v. *wo-jo*). Melena (1987b, p. 615 n. 9; forthcoming) has suggested that **35-to* is a genitive plural of the adjective αἰθός, describing the type of grain being grown.

[493] Lejeune 1966, pp. 260–261.

[494] Olivier 2001, p. 143.

926. **wi-dwo-i-jo** *Widwohios*[495]
Ep 539.12: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
wi-do-wo-i-jo
An 5.2: certain, nominative — *te-ko-to-a-pe* (FP)
wi-do-ẉọ-i-jo⟨-jo⟩
Ae 344: certain, genitive — none
wi-du-wo-i-jo
Jn 415.3: certain, nominative — *ru-ko-a$_2$-ke-re-u-te*
[wi-dwo-i-jo]
Eb 1186.A: certain, nominative — *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification probable (An, Jn), possible (E-, Ae) 1/4/3

This individual appears in several tablets with variant spellings. On Ep 539, an individual named *wi-dwo-i-jo* and described as the servant of *a-pi-me-de* (the "collector") holds GRA T 2 of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos*. A man of a name with a slightly different spelling is a smith on Jn 415 with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5. Spelled *wi-do-ẉọ-i-jo⟨-jo⟩*, he is the father of *pi-ro-wo-na* on Ae 344. On An 5, he is simply listed as a man at the toponym *te-ko-to-a-pe*. For the connections between the smith and the individual on An 5, see section 3.1.6. For the possibility of prosopographical identification with the landowner, see section 3.1.10.

927. **wi-ja-da-ra** *Wiandrā* (cf. Ἰάνειρα)[496]
Ae 142: probable, genitive — none
1/1/1

This appears to be a woman's name in the genitive modifying a boy (*ko-wo*) who is described as *wo-we-u* (of obscure meaning).

928. **wi-ja-ni-jo** *Wiarnios*[497]
Jn 431.2: certain, nominative — *a-pe-ke-e*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 5.

495 Aura Jorro 1993, p. 428, s.v. *wi-do-wo-i-jo*.
496 Neumann 1992a, pp. 436–437; 1995, p. 133.
497 Neumann 1992a, pp. 437–438; 1995, p. 133.

929. ***wi-ja-te-u** Perhaps *Wiantheus* (cf. Ἰανθίδης, Ἰανθή)
wi-ja-te-we
Cn 45.11: certain, dative — *u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja* (FP)
Cn 600.10: certain, dative — *re-qa-se-wo wo-wo* (FP)
wi-ja-te-wo
Jn 431.11: certain, nominative — *a-pe-ke-e*
Identification possible 1/2/2

This herder, whose name in the nominative is **wi-ja-te-u*, has a flock of 16 female goats with *a-ke-o* as his "collector" on Cn 45, and a flock of 80 female sheep on Cn 600. These flocks are associated with adjacent districts in the southern Further Province. A man with a similar name, *wi-ja-te-wo* in the nominative, appears as a smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 431. While these names are not formally the same, there are many contextual reasons to suppose that they refer to the same individual (see section 3.1.2).

]ẉị-jẹ-ụ[ see above, s.v. *di-wi-je-u*

930. **wi-jo-ro-jo** Uncertain
Jn 725.4: certain, nominative — *e-ni-pa-te-we* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* (the amount is unspecified).

931. **wi-nu-ri-jo** Uncertain
An 610.8: doubtful, nominative? — *ri-jo*? (HP)
0/1/0

This is probably not a man's name. It appears in a list of groups of rowers. Two other personal names do appear as entries on this tablet, but they are located further down the text and are both prominent individuals, *e-ke-*$ra_2$*-wo* and **we-da-ne-u*. It is therefore more likely that this is an noun or adjective that describes a group of rowers.

932. **wi-ri-ja-no** Perhaps *Wrianos* (cf. Ῥιανός)
Ea 52: certain, nominative — none
1/1/1

This man holds a plot of GRA T 1 from the *dāmos*. He is designated as an *e-pi-we-ti-ri-jo*, probably to be interpreted as tailor (*epiwestrios*).[498]

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[498] Aura Jorro 1985, p. 227, s.v. *e-pi-we-ti-ri-jọ*.

933. **wi-ri-ke-ja** Perhaps *Wrikeia*
Vn 851.8: certain, dative none/not preserved
1/1/1

This woman is a recipient of one unit of *de-mi-ni-ja* (probably beds).

934. **wi-ri-wo[** Perhaps *Wīrīwōn*[499]
An 340.3: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man is with (*pa-ro*) the individual named *a-ta-o*, probably in a craft context.

935. **wi-sa-to** Uncertain
Vn 130.10: certain, dative *e-wi-te-wi-jo* (HP)
wi-sa-ṭọ
Cn 328.12: certain, nominative *a-ka-na-jo* (HP)
Identification tenuous 1/2/2

A shepherd of 60 penned female sheep, a man of the same name is listed against one vessel (*a-ke-a*$_2$) on Vn 130. The prosopographical identification is tenuous (section 2.4).

936. **wi-ti-mi-jo** Perhaps *Wisthmios* (cf. Ἰσθμιάς)
Jn 605.7: certain, nominative *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (HP)
1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*.

937. **wi-tu-ta** Perhaps *Witustās*[500]
Jn 320.7: certain, nominative *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-ụ*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of unpreserved amount.

## WO

938. **ẉọ[**
Cn 485.6: probable, case uncertain *da-we*[-*u*-]*pi*

[499] Ruijgh 1968, p. 148.
[500] Neumann 1995, p. 133 and n. 9.

Probably the name of a herder. The size and composition of his flock are not preserved.

939. **]wo**
Cn 314.2: probable, nominative — not preserved

Probably a herder of 100 animals (ideogram not preserved).

940. **]ẉọ**
Jn 320.15: certain, nominative — *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-ụ*

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja*. The reading *ṭạ-ẉọ-ṇọ* is not excluded.

941. **]-ẉọ[ ]ṇẹ**
Fn 50.14: certain, dative — none

This individual's servants are recipients of grain (HORD T 3). Comparing the amount of grain to the other entries, for which we have some idea about the number of servants, s/he should have about twelve servants.[501] The reading ]*ḍạ-ẉọ*[-·-]*ṇẹ*[-*wo* is a possibility. See section 3.1.7.

942. **wo-di-je-ja** — Probably *Wordieia* (cf. Ῥοδία)
Ub 1318.3: certain, nominative — none
Vn 34.1: certain, nominative — none
Identification certain — 1/1/1

This woman is listed on Vn 34 against the man's name *me-ti-ja-no* in the genitive. She recurs with *me-ti-ja-no* on Ub 1318 in a leather-working context. For the certainty of prosopographical identification, see section 4.7.

943. **wo-di-jo** — *Wordios* (cf. Ῥόδιος)
Jn 601.2: certain, nominative — *po-wi-te-ja*
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 6.

944. **wo-ki-ro** — Uncertain
Cn 328.7: certain, nominative — *a-ka-na-jo* (HP)
1/1/1

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[501] The servants of *a-pi-e-ra* and *mi-jo-qa* receive HORD V 3, and each are allocated two men on An 1281. Thus, each servant receives HORD V 1 Z 2. The servants of *au-ke-i-ja-te-u* receive HORD T 1, which divided by V 1 Z 2 yields four. Unfortunately, he is only allocated three men on

A herder of 20 penned female goats.

945. **wo-ki-to** Perhaps *Woikistos* (cf. Οἶκις)
Cn 131.12: certain, dative *ma-ro* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of 73 penned male sheep.

946. **wo-ne-wa** *Woinēwās* (cf. Οἰνεύς)[502]
An 654.2: certain, nominative *me-ta-pa*? (HP)
1/1/1

An officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of *ku-ru-me-no*.

947. **]wo-ni**
Fn 324.12: certain, dative none

A recipient of an unpreserved amount of grain (HORD).

948. **wo-no[**
Jo 438.16: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This individual contributes a large amount of gold (AUR N 1) on Jn 438. He is perhaps identified as a *du-*]*ma*.

949. ***wo-ro-ki-jo** *Wroikiōn* (Ῥοικίων)
wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo
Er 312.7: possible, adjective none
Un 718.11: possible, adjective *sa-ra-pe-da*
Identification certain 0/1/0

The adjective *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo* modifies the noun *e-re-mo* (ἐρῆμον, "wasteland") on Er 312 and *ka-ma* on Un 718. There is no doubt that the two are directly related: not only is the same adjective used, but in both cases it refers to land. Furthermore, Er 312 and Un 718 are administratively linked: the former records landholdings in the region of *sa-ra-pe-da*, the latter a feast in the same district. Killen has argued that adjectives ending in *-e-jo* are derived from personal names, and suggests that *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo* is derived from a

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An 1281, although there is an erasure next to his name which may have included a fourth servant. HORD T 3 divided by V 1 Z 2 is 12.

[502] García Ramón 2011, p. 222.

man's name *Wroikiōn*.[503] Heubeck has suggested a toponymic adjective from *wrōks* (ῥῶξ, "cleft").[504]

950. ***wo-ro-ko** *Wroikos* (Ῥοῖκος)[505]
wo-ro-ko-jo
Sa 763: certain, genitive none
1/1/1

This individual is responsible for work on one good pair of serviceable chariot wheels with a border (ROTA+*TE*).

951. **wo-ro-qo-ta[** Uncertain
Qa 1305: certain, nominative none/not preserved
1/1/1

This individual is a recipient of an unpreserved number of animal hides (**189*).

952. **wo-ro-ti-ja** Perhaps *Wrothiās* (cf. Ῥόθος)[506]
Es 728.1: certain, nominative none
wo-ro-ti-ja-o
Es 650.7: certain, genitive none
ẉọ[-ro-ti-ja-o]
Es 644.7: certain, genitive none
Identification certain 1/1/1

This individual is one of the landholders and contributors in the Es series. He holds GRA 2 of land, which is the fourth largest plot (of the 12 preserved amounts).

953. **wo-ro-tu-mi-ni-jọ** Perhaps *Wrothumnios*[507]
An 661.7: certain, nominative *za-e-to-ro*? (HP)
1/1/1

A *hekʷetās*, *wo-ro-tu-mi-ni-jo* appears attached to the *o-ka* of *e-ki-no*, which is not given a toponymic designation, but there are toponyms for four groups of men associated with the unit, the last of which is at *za-e-to-ro*.

503 Killen 1983b, pp. 83–84.
504 Heubeck 1966.
505 Neumann 1995, p. 156.
506 Leukart 1994, p. 231.
507 Ruijgh 1967, p. 144 and n. 223.

954. **wo-ti-jo** *Worthios* (cf. Ὄρθιος)[508]
An 340.8: certain, nominative none
Jn 832.5: certain, nominative *ro-u-so* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A smith designated as a decorator (*a-ke-te-re, askēteres*, cf. ἀσκητής), *Worthios* is with (*pa-ro*) the individual named *a-ta-o*, probably in a craft context. For prosopographical identification, see section 3.1.5.

955. **]wo-to**
Cn 441.3: probable, nominative/dative? *a-ke-re-u*? (HP)

A herder of six penned female goats.

956. **wo-to-mo** Uncertain
Vn 1314.2: possible, nominative none
0/1/1

This text appears to indicate that *wo-to-mo*, if this is a personal name, brings (*pe-re*, φέρει) one drug (*pa-ma-ko*, φάρμακον).

957. **wo-tu-ko-[**
Xn 593.1: probable, nominative none/not preserved
0/1/1

The only other lexical item on this text is the fragmentary *po-ki*[. The reading *wo-tu-ko-ẉọ*[ is not excluded.

958. **wo-wa-ro** Uncertain
Jn 750.11: certain, nominative *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (FP)
1/1/1

A smith with a *ta-ra-si-ja* of AES M 1 N 2.

959. **wo-wi-ja-ta** *Worwiātās*[509]
An 172.1: certain, nominative none/not preserved
Jn 658.8: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we*
wo-wi-jạ-ta
Jn 725.7: certain, nominative *e-ni-pa-te-we*
Identification possible 1/2/2

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[508] Ilievski 1992, p. 328.
[509] Leukart 1994, p. 182.

This individual is a smith on Jn 658 and the preliminary text Jn 725 (see sections 2.2, 3.1.1). On both texts, he has a *ta-ra-si-ja* (the amount is unspecified on Jn 725, but it is AES M 5 on Jn 658). On An 172, *Worwiātas* appears in a prominent position, probably the header. It appears that he is designated as a "sewer" (*ra-pte, raptēr,* cf. ῥάπτης). It is possible that the individuals listed below, which include two other smiths, are allocated to, or the responsibility of, *Worwiātas*. On the prosopographical identification of the sewer and the smith, see section 3.18.

## ZE

960. **ze-pu$_2$-ro** Ζέφυρος[510]
Ea 56: certain, nominative none
1/1/1

This man, designated as a sewer ([*ra-*]*pte, raptēr*, cf. ῥάπτης), holds a plot of land (GRA T 1) from *sa-ke-re-u*.

## ZO

961. **zo-wi-jo** *Zōwios* (cf. Ζώϊος)[511]
Cn 40.3: certain, dative *wa-no-jo wo-wo* (HP)
1/1/1

A herder of 70 male sheep, with *a-ko-so-ta* as his "collector."

962. **zo-wo** *Zōwos* (cf. Ζῶος)
An 519.2: certain, nominative *ro-o-wa* (HP)
1/1/1

An officer in the military unit (*o-ka*) of **to-ro*. He may be a possessor of a share [of land] (*mo-ro-qa, mo*(*i*)*rokk$^w$ās*), although this title might equally apply to *ka-da-si-jo*.

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510 Perhaps *ze-pu$_2$-ro* could mean "the man from Halikarnassos," since Strabo (14.2.16) reports that Zephuria was the old name for Halikarnassos, although one would perhaps expect *ze-pu$_2$-ri-jo*.

511 Neumann 1995, p. 129 n. 4.

## *34

963. ***34-ke-ja** Probably Αἰγεία[512]
Fn 187.19: certain, dative none
*35-ke-ja
Eb 871.1: certain, nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne* (HP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

This woman holds a plot of *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *dāmos* (its size is unpreserved). On Fn 187, a text with religious associations, she is a recipient of grain (HORD T 1 V 3) and figs (the amount is unpreserved, but is probably the equal to the grain, on analogy to other entries on Fn 187). On prosopographical identification, see section 4.2.1.

## *82

964. ***82-de** Uncertain[513]
Jn 431.12: certain, nominative *a-pe-ke-e*
*82-de[
Cn 600.15: certain, nominative *ti-mi-to-a-ko* (FP)
Identification certain 1/1/1

A smith without a *ta-ra-si-ja* on Jn 431, **82-de* also appears as a herder of 12 female pigs on Cn 600. For the certainty of prosopographical identification, see section 3.1.2.

512 Melena 2000, pp. 14–15; forthcoming.
513 Perhaps *Swādes* (Melena 2000, p. 45 n. 117; forthcoming).

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# INDEX OF SUBJECTS


*a-ka-na-jo*, 42–43
*a-ke-a*$_2$, 64, 66
*a-ke-re*, 106
*a-ke-ro*, 401
*a-ke-re-wa*, 43, 44, 111
*a-ke-te-re*, 69n112, 192
*a-ko-ra*, 8
*a-ko-to-no*, 119
alum (*tu-ru-pte-ri-ja*), 99–100, 160, 170
*a-no-ke-wa*, 37
*a-no-qa-si-ja*, 39n37, 128, 326
*a-pu*$_2$, 47
*a-pu*$_2$*-ka*, 151, 273
*a-re-pa-zo-o*, 132, 146, 261
Archives Complex, 23, 30, 31, 107, 121n19, 269
*a-si-ja-ti-ja*, 44, 54, 59, 91, 105, 110, 187–188n4
*a-ta-ra-si-jo*, 71, 74, 75, 77, 78
*a-to-mo*, 69n112, 112, 120n12, 187–188n4, 346
*a*$_2$*-pa-tu-wo-te*, 187–188n4
*a*$_2$*-te-po*, 53–54
*a*$_3$*-ta-re-u-si*, 193

Beylerbey, 43, 181
bronze, 12, 54, 79n16, 79n17, 172
  See also smith; metallurgy
bureaucracy, 1–3, 18, 178, 183

chariots, 7, 110–111
Chora, 43
chronology, 22–23, 30–32, 45, 48
class
  lower, 1, 14, 15, 26, 40–41, 162–165
  See also elite; status, social
clusters, onomastic, 24, 33, 39, 46–49, 62–63, 67, 68, 73, 80–88, 114, 122, 140
collapse, Mycenaean, 9, 13, 79n16, 183–184
"collectors", 3, 5n29, 7–8, 15, 18, 90n41, 103, 106, 109, 110, 111–112, 134, 147, 158, 161, 163, 164, 168–169, 172, 174–175, 187–188n4
  international, 8, 45–46, 59, 160, 228, 257n216, 348n404, 405
competition, 25, 177–179, 183
cooperation, 25, 171–172, 180–181, 183
craft production, 13–14, 66, 79–80, 93, 98, 116, 144–145, 151, 167, 170, 178
Cyprus, 79n16, 300n300

*dāmokoros* (*da-mo-ko-ro*), 6, 9, 11, 12–13n66, 13, 121, 176n85, 226, 354, 383
*dāmos* (*da-mo*), 9, 12, 12–13n66, 171–172, 175, 176, 179, 253
*da-we-u-pi*, 57, 59
*de-mi-ni-ja*, 144
*do-qe-ja*, 7n40
*do-so-mo*, 125, 155n4
*du-ma*, 14n75, 37, 121–122, 230, 237–239, 377

economy
  palatial, 2–3, 16, 16–17n92, 25, 156, 166n37, 168, 173–176, 178, 179–181, 183
  non-palatial, 2, 26, 174, 178, 180–181, 185
elite, 1–5, 15, 25–26, 41, 45–46, 116, 160, 165–173, 177, 179, 180–181, 184–185
  palatial, 14n75, 15, 26, 115, 149, 151, 162–163, 174
  regional (local), 3, 14n75, 15, 25, 115, 162–163, 181–183
*e-ne-ka*, 39n37, 128, 213–214n98, 326
*e-ni-pa-te-we*, 35n30, 43, 75
*e-qa-na*, 64
*e-qe-si-ja/jo*, 7, 18n98, 208, 374
*e-re-e*, 195, 250n197
*e-re-e-we*, 107n99, 108
*e-re-u-te-re*, 233–234
*e-re-u-te-ra/ro*, 15n83, 249
*e-re-u-te-ro-se*, 110, 312
*e-te-do-mo*, 62, 100, 276
*e-to-ni-jo*, 111, 112n116, 150, 164, 171, 208, 247
*e-qe-ta*
  see *hek*$^w$*etās*
erasure, scribal, 32–33, 54, 97, 248n192, 294, 314n336, 344, 351, 363, 409–410n502
error, scribal, 71n115, 78, 82n25, 119–120, 132n50, 211, 236, 237, 243, 285, 316, 339, 350, 358

feasting, 124n26, 168, 175, 176n86, 233, 238, 243, 313, 354, 410

geography, Pylian, 8–11, 40–47, 59, 77, 87, 91–92, 103, 125–126, 158, 181–183, 187–188n4
Gerenia, 284n273, 304n307

*geronsiā* (*ke-ro-si-ja*), 66, 92–93, 115, 146
*gerontes* (*ke-ro-te*), 93, 115
*g<sup>w</sup>asileus* (*qa-si-re-u*), 13–14, 39, 74, 77–78, 90, 93n46, 166, 167n40, 183, 197, 208, 209, 214, 215, 252, 283, 333, 399n477
*g<sup>w</sup>asilēwiā* (*qa-si-re-wi-ja*), 66, 136, 179n104, 208, 214, 215, 283

*hek<sup>w</sup>etās* (*e-qe-ta*), 7–8, 12n59, 14n75, 18, 21, 39, 46, 47, 53, 89, 90, 91, 108, 112, 115, 121, 132, 134, 144, 149–151, 160, 163–164, 165, 346n399
herder, 8, 14, 20, 40–41, 42–44, 48n75, 57–59, 67, 70, 73–74, 80–88, 95, 102–116, 157–160, 165, 167–169, 174, 176, 180
heteronymy, 35–36
hierarchy, administrative, 1–2, 5, 8–13, 18, 25–26, 162–165, 169, 183
homonymy, 35–39, 40, 70–72, 77–78, 155

identification, prosopographical, 22–24, 29–33, 40–72, 153–155
*i-ja-te*, 112, 213–214n98, 310
individual
see personhood, Mycenaean
*i-qo-jo*, 39n37, 213–214n98
*i-qọ-na-to-mo*, 112, 213
*i-*65*, 36n31, 56n89, 119, 141, 167n40, 339, 350, 401

*ka-ke-u*
see smith
*ka-ra-wi-po-ro*
see key-bearer
*ka-wi-jo*, 197, 399n478
*ke-ke-me-na*, 113, 127, 170–171
*ke-ki*, 204
*ke-ra-e-we*, 139n64, 175n83
*ke-ro-si-ja*
see *geronsiā*
*ke-ro-te*
see *gerontes*
*ke-u-po-da*, 68n110, 110, 255–256
key-bearer (*ka-ra-wi-po-ro*), 11–12, 14n75, 124, 130, 274–275, 405
Khania, 32
king
see *wanax*
kinship, 13, 29, 50, 56–57, 64, 90, 119–120, 132, 141, 143, 168, 210, 259, 278, 283, 306, 311–312, 333, 337, 343, 345, 406
see also patronymic; *i-*65*

Knossos, 4n21, 8, 11–12n57, 12–13n66, 14, 30–32, 33n20, 37n36, 49n77, 119n10, 139, 149, 160, 166, 171n67, 179n104, 228, 257n216, 344, 348n404, 405
*korētēr* (*ko-re-te*), 9–11, 12n59, 13, 14n75, 37n36, 46, 121–122, 163, 172, 195, 302, 383
*ko-to-no-o-ko*, 12, 171, 190, 194, 225, 253, 284, 302, 334, 341, 360, 381, 399
Koukounara, 44n61, 335n370, 399n479

*lāwāgetās* (*ra-wa-ke-ta*), 7, 14n75, 15, 40, 69n111, 90, 101, 115, 124–125, 175, 184–185, 231, 244, 262, 276, 285, 288, 301, 315, 323, 370, 382, 403

*ma-ro*, 42, 44, 103–105, 187–188n4
metallurgy, 79n16–17, 99–100, 169, 176, 180
*mo-ro-qa*, 119, 236, 271, 272, 302, 319, 360, 371, 413
mortuary evidence, 15n85, 25
*mu-ta-pi*, 95, 107, 187–188n4
Mycenae, 30, 32, 98n73, 185–186

names
patronymic, 13, 33–34, 39, 49, 50, 53, 56–57, 72n120, 90, 115, 118–119, 149–150, 155n5, 160, 191, 197n33, 199n42, 231, 258–259, 283, 288, 302, 306, 332–333, 337, 348
personal, 3, 12–13n66, 19–22, 33–36, 39, 44–46, 71–72, 156, 157, 163 (for individual personal names, see Appendix)
place, 41–44
theophoric, 53n82, 90, 210n85
*na-i-se-wi-jo*, 75–77
*na-u-do-mo*, 144–145, 154–155
Nichoria, 79n17, 180, 181, 182
]-*nu-we-jo*, 187–188n4

officeholder, 2, 5, 8, 13–14, 15, 18, 21–22, 164–165, 168–169, 172, 175–176, 178
oil, perfumed, 64, 132, 146, 168, 268–269
see also *a-re-pa-zo-o*
*o-ka*, 7, 44, 47, 50, 53, 56, 87, 89–92, 107–108, 115, 117–124, 132, 140, 144, 146–147, 149–151
*o-na-to*, 175
*o-no*, 63, 64n98, 99
*o-pa*, 111
*o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta*, 127, 404–405
Ordines, 181–182

*o-wi-to-no*, 47, 193
oxen, 108, 119, 150, 171, 233
  see also **qo-qo-ta*

*pa-ki-ja-ne*
  see *Sphagiānes*
*pa-ra-ke-te-e-we*, 54, 69n112
*pa-ra-jo*, 104
*pa-ro*, 67, 93, 102–103
patronymic
  see names, patronymic
personhood, Mycenaean, 21, 176–179
*pi-*82*, 42, 81n24, 103, 105, 187–188n4
*po-me*, 44, 67, 105, 113, 158n14
popularity, of personal names, 36, 40, 44–46, 59
population, Pylian, 14, 16, 34, 156, 173
Potnia (*po-ti-ni-ja*), 69n112, 76, 96, 101, 115, 130n47, 132, 146
*po-wi-te-ja*, 47, 91n43
priest (*i-je-re-u*), 11–12, 14n75, 101, 124, 127–128, 130n47, 139, 150n84, 205, 217, 235, 266, 372, 404
priestess (*i-je-re-ja*), 11–12, 14n75, 39, 97, 124, 128, 139, 171–172, 176–177, 253, 281, 282
*prokorētēr* (*po-ro-ko-re-te*), 9, 13, 14n75, 172
prosopography, 4, 5, 20, 22–26, 29, 32–33, 40–72
Provinces, of Pylos
  see geography, Pylian
Pylos, territorial expansion of, 25, 181–183

*qa-si-re-u*
  see *gʷasileus*
*qa-si-re-wi-ja*
  see *gʷasilēwiā*
*qe-ja-me-no*, 39n37, 128, 326
*qe-re-me-ti-re*, 187–188n4
*qe-te-o*, 137, 238, 313
**qo-qo-ta*, 90, 101, 132, 285, 337, 363

*ra-pte*, 98, 254, 267, 388, 413
*ra-wa-ke-ta*
  see *lāwāgetās*
religion, 6, 7, 11, 97–98, 100n81, 101, 108, 124, 130, 134, 135–137, 139–140, 141, 149, 150, 157, 172, 177
  see also key-bearer; priest; priestess; Potnia; servant of the priestess, servant of the god
*ro-o-wa*, 59
*ro-u-so*, 42, 44, 47n73

rower, 117, 120–121, 140, 146–147, 151
royal
  See *wa-na-ka-te-ro*

scribe, 17, 19, 21, 30–31, 33, 35, 37–39, 49, 54, 71, 86, 122n20, 126, 154–155
  see also erasure, scribal; error, scribal
scribal hands
  Hand 1, 35, 83, 124, 125, 127, 171, 214, 248, 355
  Hand 2, 33, 35, 54, 82n25, 82n26, 155, 354, 355
  Hand 15, 355
  Hand 21, 35, 82n25, 155
  Hand 22, 355
  Hand 24, 244
  Hand 41, 124, 125n31, 127, 171, 248
servant (*do-e-ra, do-e-ro*), 14–15, 75–77, 80n20, 96–97, 164n29, 311–312
  of the priestess, 97, 97–98n70, 250, 310, 385
  of the god, 48n75, 57, 97–98n70, 100, 112, 124, 126–128
slave
  see servant
smith (*ka-ke-u*), 17, 40–41, 57–59, 62–63, 67n108, 69, 70–72, 73–102, 114–116, 154–155, 156, 160–161, 165, 167, 169–170, 174, 176, 179–180
*Sphagiānes* (*pa-ki-ja-ne*), 12, 42–44, 101, 124–126, 128, 130–131, 171, 175, 179
status, social, 8, 14–15, 17n95, 24–26, 40–41, 46, 48, 59, 97, 103, 115–116, 150n85, 160–165
swineherd (*su-qo-ta*), 101, 124–125n29, 206, 262, 285, 362, 370, 372

*talasiā* (*ta-ra-si-ja*), 71, 74–75, 78–79, 157n11, 212
*ta-te-re*, 47n73, 108, 193
*ta-to-mo*
  see *ta-te-re*
taxation, 2, 9, 12, 14, 15n83, 16, 30, 109–110, 116, 140–142, 154–155, 170, 171, 174, 279, 283–284, 395, 403
*te-ko-to*, 344
*te-ko-to-(n)a-pe*, 94, 187–188n4
*telestās* (*te-re-ta*), 12, 14n75, 15, 112, 122, 126, 165, 171–172
textiles, 8, 14, 63–64, 99n78, 110, 116, 139n63, 140–141, 156, 166, 168, 175, 212
Thebes, 12–13n66, 30, 32, 135

*ti-ni-ja-ta*, 127, 133, 142, 238, 285, 404–405
*ti-no*, 101, 124, 133, 142, 238, 285
titles, official, 7–8, 17–19, 37–39, 48n75, 68–69, 93n46, 122, 136–137, 163–165, 166–167, 169, 184–185
toponyms
  see names, place
*tu-ru-pte-ri-ja*
  see alum

*u-de-wi-ne*, 395

*wa-na-ka-te-ro*, 7, 62, 100, 124–125n29, 218, 335, 343
*wanax* (*wa-na-ka*), 1, 6–7, 9, 12, 14n75, 40, 101, 124, 175, 184–185, 243–244
*wa-no-jo wo-wo*, 187–188n4
*wi-ja-we-ra*$_2$, 42, 103, 187–188n4
*wo-ka*, 110–111n113
women, 14, 100n81, 141, 156–157
word order, Mycenaean, 53, 220n119, 233n152, 234, 253n208, 283

*-ze-to*, 64

*34-ke-te-si*, 150, 234, 260n226
*34-te*, 53, 120, 245, 278
*34-to-pi*, 64n101

# INDEX OF SOURCES


KN Fp 13 11–12n57
PY Ae series 133
PY Ae 134 105
PY An series 73n1, 89, 107–109, 117
PY An 5 94–95, 107
PY An 35 99
PY An 39 109, 114, 136–138
PY An 129 67
PY An 172 98
PY An 192 37–38, 46, 70n114, 121–122, 132, 137
PY An 209 47–48, 107n99, 108, 193
PY An 261 92–93
PY An 340 93–94, 98
PY An 435 67, 141, 147, 200, 287
PY An 519 50–51, 53–56, 89
PY An 607 7n40
PY An 610 117, 120–121, 151, 228
PY An 654 89, 91, 120
PY An 656 89–91
PY An 657 48, 89n33, 108, 117n2
PY An 724 117, 120–121, 208
PY An 1281 95–98
PY Aq 64 46, 118–122, 150
PY Aq 218 46, 47–48, 52–53, 56–57, 118–122, 150
PY Cc 660 106
PY Cn series 73, 80–88, 102–116, 157n11, 158
PY Cn 3 108, 150, 233–234
PY Cn 4 95, 107
PY Cn 40 84
PY Cn 131 81n24, 85–86
PY Cn 285 82–83
PY Cn 328 43n55, 47–48, 108
PY Cn 418 108, 234, 403
PY Cn 437 84
PY Cn 600 83–84
PY Cn 925 57–58
PY Cn 1197 109–110
PY Cr 868 95
PY E- series 37–39, 100–102, 111–113, 124–135
PY Ea series 90, 101, 124–125, 128, 132–134, 175
PY Eb series 31, 124
PY Eb 297 171
PY Ed series 125
PY En series 124
PY En 659 35
PY Eo series 124
PY Ep series 31, 124
PY Ep 301 61–63
PY Ep 704 170–171
PY Eq series 125
PY Eq 146 112, 296
PY Eq 213 111, 200
PY Es series 111–112, 124–125, 134–135, 150, 155n4, 157n
PY Fg 368 132
PY Fg 374 132
PY Fn series 114, 135–139
PY Fn 7 135–137
PY Fn 50 95–98, 136–137
PY Fn 79 137
PY Fn 187 130, 135–136
PY Fn 837 114
PY Fr 1184 132
PY Gn 428 138
PY Jn series 39, 58, 71–102, 169–170
PY Jn 431 81–82, 83–84
PY Jn 605 33
PY Jn 658 35–36, 75
PY Jn 692 75
PY Jn 725 35–36, 75, 78
PY Jn 750 54–56
PY Jn 829 9, 12, 33n17, 172
PY Jo 438 9, 37n36, 121–122, 149, 193
PY La 1393 212
PY Ma series 170, 174
PY Mb series 110, 140–142
PY Mb 1365 63–64, 140–142
PY Mb 1380 141n67
PY Mn series 110, 140–142
PY Na series 109–110, 142–143, 170, 174, 234n159
PY Na 565 132–133, 142, 238, 285
PY Na 568 144–145
PY Na 1357 9
PY Nn series 109–110, 142–143
PY Nn 831 9, 155

PY On 300 121–122, 132, 149, 193
PY Pn 30 147, 200
PY Qa series 139–140, 175n83
PY Sa series 110–111
PY Sh 736 111
PY Ta 711 6, 9, 121n19, 226, 354
PY Ua 158 63–64, 141
PY Ub 1316 147
PY Ub 1317 147
PY Ub 1318 95, 98, 143
PY Un 219 136, 146
PY Un 249 146
PY Un 267 147, 200
PY Un 443 99, 130
PY Un 616 92–93
PY Un 853 147
PY Un 1193 147, 221
PY Un 1320 66, 197
PY Un 1482 139, 175n83
PY Va 482 200, 204
PY Vn 34 143–144
PY Vn 130 64–67
PY Vn 493 106
PY Vn 851 144
PY Vn 865 144–145
PY Wa 917 18n98, 147, 200, 234
TH Fq series 135